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In October, 1967, 100 invited participants representing all aspects of guidance, education, school administration, counselor education, psychology, and interested government agencies in Pennsylvania met for three days to listen, think, discuss, and hopefully develop some recommendations for those who want a better program of elementary guidance. Presentations included in the monograph are as follows: "The Theoretical Foundations of Psychological Development in the Early School Years" by Dr. Jerome Kagan; "Cultural Influences on Learning and Coping Behavior" by Dr. Eleanor Leacock; "What the Counselor Should Know and Do About Testing in the Elementary School" by Dr. Warren Findley, and "Developmental Guidance: Theory and Procedures in the Elementary School" by Dr. Don Dinkmeyer. Work groups examined the characteristics of elementary school children as related to guidance programs, and recommended those steps which might facilitate and implement such programs to serve the needs of all children throughout Pennsylvania. Following the presentation of each of the four major speakers, time was allotted to provide for discussion by each work group of the presentation as it applied to their particular topic. The groups recommended steps which should be accomplished to insure a quality school guidance program. (Author/CJ)

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# Conference Report

## Elementary School Guidance Work Conference

Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction 1969

CG 004190

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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CONFERENCE REPORT

# ELEMENTARY SCHOOL GUIDANCE WORK CONFERENCE

Dr. Edwin L. Herr, Conference Chairman
Dr. James K. Hershberger, Assistant Conference Chairman

Conducted by
The Division of Guidance Services
Bureau of Pupil Personnel Services
Department of Public Instruction
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

October 16-18, 1967

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# FOREWORD

"This work conference was designed to accentuate and to enunciate the needs and issues, and the next steps, that must be confronted and engaged if elementary school guidance programs are to effectively and purposely have an impact, in positive ways, on the lives of children."

With Dr. Herr's challenge serving as a point of conference embarkation and of goal destination, one hundred invited participants representing all aspects of guidance, education, school administration, counselor education, psychology, and of interested government agencies met for three days in conference in October, 1967 to listen, to think, to discuss, and to hopefully develop some recommendations for those who would have a better program of elementary guidance.

To those who partook of the first part of the process, the listening was easy and very rewarding. Doctor's Kagan, Leacock, Findley, and Dinkmeyer provided a seedbed for discussion rich in theory, research findings, informational background, and experienced and educated suggestion. Their speeches are included in this monograph for the thinking counselor, counselor educator, or administrator who prefers to parallel the conclusions of the Conference participants with those of his own -- conclusions arrived at through the thoughtful combination of what he has known and experienced with what was heard by those at the Conference.

By including here that which was heard and that which was concluded, it is the hope of the Division of Guidance Services that those who would read this publication will engage freely in the second and third steps in the process utilized by the Conference participants, that they will engage in much thinking and discussion in the development of their own effective and purposeful elementary guidance program.

Arthur L. Glenn, Acting Director
Bureau of Pupil Personnel Services

Department of Public Instruction
Bureau of Guidance Services
Elementary School Guidance Work Conference
October 16-18, 1967

## Conference Program

Conference Chairman, Dr. Edwin L. Herr

Assistant Conference Chairman, Dr. James K. Hershberger

All General Sessions, Lunches and Dinners will be held in the Pennsylvania Room.

### October 16, 1967

9:00 a.m. - Registration

9:45 a.m. - Introduction of the Commissioner for Basic Education
Dr. Neal V. Musmanno
Assistant Commissioner
for Basic Education: Programs and Services
Department of Public Instruction

Welcome
Dr. B. Anton Hess
Commissioner for Basic Education
Department of Public Instruction

10:30 a.m. - "The Theoretical Foundations of Psychological Development in the Early School Years"
Dr. Jerome Kagan, Professor
Department of Social Relations
Harvard University

12:00 - Lunch

1:15 p.m. - "Cultural Influences on Learning and Coping Behavior"
Dr. Eleanor Leacock
Professor of Anthropology
Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn

2:45 p.m. - Conference Work Groups
to
4:30 p.m. (Room assignments are listed in the conference packet)

5:45 p.m. - Dinner

7:30 p.m. - Panel discussion
Dr. Edwin L. Herr, Moderator
Dr. Jerome Kagan
Dr. Eleanor Leacock

# Elementary School Guidance Work Conference

## October 17, 1967

9:00 a.m. - "What the Counselor Should Know and Do About Testing in the Elementary School"
Dr. Warren Findley, Director
Research and Development Center
in Educational Stimulation
University of Georgia

10:15 a.m. - Break

10:45 a.m. to 11:45 a.m. - Conference Work Groups

12:00 - Lunch

1:15 p.m. - "Developmental Guidance: Theory and Procedures in the Elementary School"
Dr. Don Dinkmeyer, Professor
Department of Guidance and Counseling
DePaul University

2:45 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. - Conference Work Groups

5:45 p.m. - Dinner

7:30 p.m. - Panel discussion
Dr. Edwin L. Herr, Moderator
Dr. Warren Findley
Dr. Don Dinkmeyer

## October 18, 1967

9:00 a.m. to 10:15 a.m. - Conference Work Groups

10:15 a.m. - Break

10:45 a.m. to 11:45 a.m. - Conference Work Groups

12:00 - Lunch

1:15 p.m. - Chairmen and Recorders prepare summary reports and recommendations - Conference Headquarters

1:15 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. - State Advisory Committee for Guidance Services - Pennsylvania Room
State Advisory Committee for Counselor Education - Pennsylvania Room

# INTRODUCTORY AND WELCOMING REMARKS

The Elementary School Guidance Work Conference of October, 1968, officially opened with Dr. Edwin Herr, Conference Director, introducing Reverend Father James Schuster, a member of the State Advisory Committee for Guidance and Counseling, who offered the invocation.

Dr. Herr's introductory remarks emphasized the factors influencing the development of elementary school guidance, stressing the challenge facing the conference participants.

"This work conference was designed to accentuate and to enunciate the needs and issues, and the next steps, that must be confronted and engaged if elementary school guidance programs are to effectively and purposely have an impact, in positive ways, on the lives of children.

"Several factors seem to converge to necessitate close scrutiny of where we are in elementary school guidance and where we need to go. The public and the private schools of Pennsylvania are, in increasing numbers, on the threshold of adding to their staffs or expanding the numbers of elementary school guidance counselors. This is true, among other reasons, because the historical provision of guidance services only at the secondary school level has in many cases been seen as too little too late. Concurrently, other educators rather clearly demonstrated that the uncritical extension of the traditional pattern of secondary school guidance services to the elementary school is not only inappropriate but inadequate and tends to cause a lack of the creative application which is required by the elementary school child in the elementary school setting. Still others have recognized the irony of spending vast amounts of money to investigate and to remediate the negative effects on our youth and on our adult population of juvenile delinquency, occupational maladjustment, school dropouts, and college attrition when, in fact, the genesis of the frustration and the lack of success which lead to such conditions can be influenced positively by the imaginative application of the potential guidance services represented.

Further, we have a climate in Pennsylvania and across this nation which is cognizant of the fact that guidance services are necessary. They need to be, as a priority, developmental and they must be made complementary and integral to the instructional program of the educational process rather than being seen as peripheral, supplementary, optional, and crisis and problem centered. The primitive and the rather tentative steps which have been taken in Pennsylvania over the past twenty-four months or so have received a cordial reception and they have spurred efforts to provide the guidance services which are so urgently required in the elementary school. But we must avoid the temptation to push people into a breach simply because a breach exists. Rather than continue at the level of generality and of platitude, the impetus for program development which has begun must be undergirded with sound insights and strategies which promise qualitative and purposeful program development rather than trial-and-error happenstance. These are some of the factors which impinge upon our challenge of the next three days."

Dr. Neal V. Musmanno, then Assistant Commissioner of Programs and Services for Basic Education, was introduced by Dr. Herr as a gentleman whose stellar support and encouragement of this activity was very much appreciated.

Dr. Musmanno introduced the Commissioner of Basic Education by accentuating the challenging activities of the conference and their importance.

"All of us in the Department are most grateful to all of you and Dr. Hess will point that out more explicitly. I'm happy to be here with my colleagues from the Department and to renew acquaintanceships with so many friends across the State.

"I must tell you that since Dr. Herr came to the Department we have had a great deal of excitement in this new adventure that we have launched, namely the new Bureau of Guidance Services. For, you see, up to just a year ago we did not have a Bureau of Guidance Services. The activities of Guidance Services were incorporated within another bureau, which did an excellent job. However, with the new Bureau of Guidance Services under the directorship of Dr. Herr, we are all excited about the great promises for the future and the wonderful things that are being done currently; specifically, this conference that is being conducted for the first time in the history of our State, dealing with guidance service in the elementary schools. I'm particularly privileged to have the opportunity to be here with you; and I thank you, Dr. Herr, for inviting me to be here this morning.

"On the way here this morning, Dr. Hess, Dr. Martin, and I were discussing protocol and courtesy and all those things that relate so definitely with the military. Both Dr. Hess and I, having been in the Navy, were talking about who does what first. One thing that he is restless about at this moment is that the junior officer doesn't talk so long, taking so much of his time. But I must tell you that the Department of Public Instruction is indeed fortunate to have as the Commissioner of Basic Education a man of the distinction carried by Dr. Hess. Dr. Hess is a distinguished school superintendent, has been in public education for more than thirty years. He has participated in nearly every aspect of public education from the pre-school area up through graduate school work. He brought a new spirit to the Department. He has been with us for a little more than six months; and in this time, we have again been excited with the great adventure that he has outlined for us. I would submit to you that perhaps you might like to see a document that he presented to the State Board of Education recently, pointing out the goals for basic education.

"In the Department, just briefly, we have Basic Education and Higher Education. In Basic Education, we have two areas--one is Program and Services, and one is Administrative Services. I have the privilege of being associated with Program and Services, which relates to eight bureaus; and the Bureau of Guidance Services is one. Dr. Hess has the responsibility for the entire area of Basic Education.

I am most privileged to present to you this morning, the Commissioner of Basic Education, our leader in this great adventure of rejuvenating public education, and with whom it is a joy to work, our Commissioner and boss, commanding officer Dr. B. Anton Hess . . ."

Dr. Hess then accented the importance of the development and implementation of elementary school guidance programs throughout the Commonwealth.

"Lest these people think they're here for a meeting of the Mutual Admiration Society, I'll refrain from saying all of the many things that I could say about the fine qualities of the men with whom I am presently in service. I must tell you that I think if somebody came to me today and offered me a position to come back to a school superintendency, to leave the Department, I would turn it down very fast, regardless of working conditions, because of the excitement and the stimulation that goes along with this present position.

"Dr. Musmanno is a very kind man, but he is also an extremely dedicated man and puts his life and thought into things that are happening in education; and he is backed up with a number of high-quality Bureau Directors, not the least of whom is Dr. Herr and his commitment to guidance.

"You must know that I, personally, and all of us in the Department feel very strongly about being supportive of pupil services and particularly guidance, because there are so many conferences and so many things happening each day--especially this month of October--that for us all to come out here for a half a day and to hear Dr. Kagan, whom we recognize as a top authority in this field, means that some other things got shoved out of the way. Our presence is where our commitment will be, and you must know that we are concerned about these activities: the importance and the need for the identification, the implementation, and the expansion of effective elementary guidance services.

"I recall a couple of years ago in Central Bucks School District, when we got an Elementary and Secondary Education Act program that needed guidance support services that here was the time we could begin a program of elementary guidance. I recall the Assistant Superintendent coming into my office after we had made all these plans and identified the persons he was starting on the job, he said, 'You know, I'd like you to answer a question for me.' I asked, 'What's that?' He said, 'What's an elementary guidance counselor supposed to do?' Well, that stopped me for a while, because I'd been well-acquainted with the activities and functions and purposes--some of them directed, some of them misdirected--in secondary guidance, but I didn't know too much about how an elementary guidance counselor was to work; so we spent some time thinking about it.

"Today, I would suspect that there are many school districts in identically that same position. I was told by Art Glenn that at the last count there were only 403 elementary guidance counselors in the State of Pennsylvania--most of them were in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, I suspect. That is a ratio of one to about 3,000 elementary pupils; and if you take the certified elementary guidance people, the ratio would be one to 8,000. This means that we have just about reached the threshold of elementary school guidance, whatever it may be.

"Briefly, without in any way trying to direct your thinking or give you any kind of basis for talking, not getting too specific, because we may have been very wrong; I recall that we finally decided that there were about four areas where this one person could work with the 150 elementary teachers and their 4,000 elementary pupils. First, this person could serve as a liaison between the elementary teacher and other specialized pupil services. There needed to be someone in the schools each day who could provide closer liaison than the psychiatrist or the school psychologist. The second point was that the person could help teachers identify pupils who were in need of special help and see that that help was obtained, either in the classroom or by certain remedial services; that teachers--especially elementary teachers--needed to be constantly made aware of the guidance aspect of teaching.

"I recall a third point was that, in addition to identifying pupils in need of the help, we felt that we needed to be more alert to the administrative responsibilities of identifying situations and conditions in our education program which might be deterrents to effective learning and which needed some guidance help. Finally, that this person would work with teachers and in-service workshops and in all kinds of situations to develop a guidance concept in their teaching performance.

"These were just some of the things we developed and I think very roughly; and we soon discovered that one guidance person to do all this was not even a 'drop in the bucket.' Therefore, I came to the Department with some orientation to the importance of becoming very specific in the identification of elementary school guidance and for the necessity for leadership to be developed at the Department level.

"One of the major goals that I presented to the Department and to the State Board, which I talked about briefly at the Educational Congress, had to do with the extension of guidance services. We have done excellent work in developing preliminary guidelines; but we need to develop and produce a publication, a monograph, which will give specific guidance--something for people to begin to use and something that is so well-founded in the theories of learning--psychological theories of learning that Dr. Kagan is going to talk about this morning--that it will be helpful to people who are working with young people in guidance capacities.

"But we need to go farther than that because publications somehow get lost. The one thing that surprised me when I came to the Department as a practicing school administrator in various capacities for almost twenty years was to discover that there were many things going on in the Department of Public Instruction, including publications and services, about which I was completely and totally unaware. I think that, in this respect, we need to initiate certain demonstration centers for guidance counselors, for elementary personnel, for directors of pupil services, and administrators. We need to initiate certain conferences to talk about these guidelines when they are developed, in order to properly implement them and in order to permit school districts to move ahead with this program.

"Without getting specific, I do believe that we should be pressing--and I intend to press--for legislation to provide reimbursement for guidance personnel, which is extra and aside from the ordinary Average Daily Membership reimbursement. I think, until we do that, guidance programs will continue to suffer and the ratios will be far below those that are needed.

"We are looking forward to a three-year program to do some tremendous things and to really get elementary guidance off the ground, and you people are right in on the ground floor. As I looked at the list of conference participants, I could not help but admire Dr. Herr for his sagacity in the selection of the people that are going to be working here for three days to give the tremendous breadth of advice and experience that you have to help develop this instrument for more effective guidance programs in Basic Education. We certainly thank you, and I welcome you with all my heart to this conference."

# THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE EARLY SCHOOL YEARS

Jerome Kagan
Harvard University

To attempt to synthesize our knowledge of psychological development during the first decade contains a large share of excitement and more than a dash of foolishness. One has to have a touch of the foolish to take on this task because inquiry into the core issues of human development is in a state of confusion. One of the major reasons for the bewilderment is the erosion of the theoretical edifices we have clung to for so long a time. A firm belief and commitment to a theoretical scheme is an important therapeutic device for scientists, practitioners and parents, for it allows one to select and reject data and observations without excessive cognitive dissonance. Theories make it easy to say of a set of impoverished results--the methods were bad; or to regard a set of inconsistent findings as artifactual. We are currently without a sound theory of personality and intellectual development.

The backbone of personality work for the last quarter century has been psychoanalytic theory; but social scientists are beginning to realize that the intuitive attraction and basic reasonableness of psychoanalytic constructs matched our apperceptive mass too well. We were seduced into over acceptance of a scheme that had a core set of critical truths married to some bad ideas.

A second reason for the contemporary confusion is the empirical sophism that is being promoted. Unrestrained and undisciplined empiricism are always the sequelae of a theoretical void. Without a theory to establish priorities as to what ideas are important, a tower of Babel soon rises in jerry-built fashion. Everyone becomes his own Pope, in a race to prove that his variable, his construct, or his test can explain most everything. As a result, special test procedures are proselytized--with acceptable techniques of persuasion--and an emphasis upon test variables becomes popular. Thus we talk of creative children, of field independent children, of impulsive children, and of anxious children. We think we are talking about a broad and general set of attributes but we are merely talking about a score on somebody's test. It is unusually difficult to determine where or how these test scores touch each other or how they attach to the main issues and concepts in human behavioral development.

I plan to do three things in this essay. I should like, first, to list some of the major characteristics of the school age child: to consider the basic concepts we need to explain the child's behavior, and finally, to detail the processes by which the child's developing motives and interaction with the social environment control his behavior.

There is a dramatic change among Western children in overt behavior and in the form and quality of cognitive products between 6 and 10 years of age. The popular explanation attributes this change to the varied experiences associated with school attendance. However, many cultures institute formal changes in responsibilities and expectations for task mastery between the sixth and eighth year. English common law typically did not regard the child as responsible for his actions prior to the eighth year, and the Catholic Church does not ask a child under eight to confess his misbehaviors. There is, therefore, a general recognition, spanning cultures and time, that something special happens to the child around 7 to 8 years of age. It is likely that fundamental biological and psychological changes transpire during these years. These changes, noted by most cultures, provoke the culture to institutionalize the mastery of specific skills and the acceptance of social responsibilities during this era.

Among children of the Western community, the critical responses established during this time include: (a) learning attitudes surrounding intellectual mastery, including anticipation of success, fear of failure, standards of performance and competence, desire to master intellectual skills, and the development of relationships to the teacher, (b) learning and practicing active versus passive behavior with peers, (c) crystallization of attitudes toward the self as a result of the child's perceived rank order within the peer group, (d) the differential establishment of anxiety and guilt in association with aggression, sexuality and dependency, (e) the firmer establishment of preferences for particular defenses to anxiety, (f) practicing the behaviors and attitudes that define sex role standards, and the crystallization of a sex role identity, and (g) the development of standards regarding rational thought and behavior and autonomy.

A major transformation that occurs between the preschool and early school years revolves around the growing importance of standards and the decreasing importance of motives.

It is necessary to distinguish the concept of motive from the concept of biogenic need or drive. A biogenic need is a state of discomfort caused by a disturbance in the basic biological functioning of the organism. Hunger, thirst, cold, heat, pain are classic biogenic need states. Each leads to discharge of certain central nervous system structures and particular sensory receptors and usually produces internal sensations that are unpleasant. In the older child these need states usually become linked to complex psychological processes. But the biogenic need of hunger, cold, or pain in the infant exists in more or less pure form. Although these needs play a significant role in development, we shall put them aside for the moment and consider now the concept of motive.

A motive is a set of images or thoughts that represent events the individual desires to experience. A motive is a symbolic representation of a goal the individual wants to possess. In simplest form, a motive is a wish. There are three important corollaries of this definition. First, motives are cognitive processes and have no necessary relation to overt behavior. One may have wished for many years to go to Tahiti but may have taken no steps toward attaining that goal. Motives have implications for action, but there are no necessary unlearned reactions to those motives. The 5 year old has a motive for affection, for recognition, for praise. Motives are satiable and are typically aroused either by some trigger stimulus in the environment or by a thought. Standards, on the other hand, are beliefs concerning the ideal attributes the child feels he should possess and the ideal goal states he feels he should be receiving. Standards are not easily satisfied nor are they easily changed in intensity by introducing a particular stimulus. One can easily arouse the child's motive for a chocolate bar or a checkers game with his father by merely suggesting that goal to the child. It is not easy to change the child's standard about his sex role attributes by suggesting that he be more masculine or that he is more masculine. The establishment of standards during the preschool years gives rise to a special motive, the desire to maximize congruence with the standard; the desire to think, feel and behave in ways that are maximally similar to the standard. The goal of this new and special motive is a thought; the child's evaluation of the degree to which his attributes match his standard. As the years pass, this desire for congruence with the standard grows in strength and subordinates earlier learned motives that are satiated directly by external events. A 4 year old girl has a motive to be kissed by her parent, and receipt of that kiss gratifies the motive. Several kisses may satiate the wish for several hours or days. The 8 year old has acquired a standard which states, "I should be valued by my parents". The older girl seeks ways to verify this standard. The search for proof may or may not require kisses as its goal. Moreover, the critical event is not the kiss but the child's interpretation of the kiss. The desire to maximize congruence with a standard differs from the motive for an external goal and this difference makes it difficult to infer the primary determinant of an act. A teacher sees a 10 year old boy strike another boy in the arm. Was that act impelled by a hostile motive, or the desire to maximize congruence with a masculine standard for "toughness", a standard that calls for occasional pokes at your friends to announce your masculinity. It is difficult to understand the basis for a particular response because either a desire to maximize congruence with a standard or a motive for an external effect could have been the primary incentive for the behavior.

The major standards that begin growth during this period include:

1. Mastery of instrumental skills, especially bodily coordination and intellectual skills.
2. Sex role standards.
3. Autonomy and independence.
4. Rational thought and consistency between thought and behavior.

The early school years mark a time when crystallization of major standards, anxieties and defenses occurs and, as a result, this period offers a preview of the personality of the late adolescent and young adult.

The bases for dramatic individual differences among adults can be discerned by the time the child is 10 years old. Motives for power, instrumental competence, hostility, affection, acceptance, recognition, and sexuality exist in different hierarchies in a group of children, and the standards for sex role behavior, rational judgments and autonomy of action have been formed. The major sources of anxiety have been operating for several years (i.e., anticipation of physical harm, anticipation of social rejection, and violation of standards), and preferred defensive reactions to these sources of anxiety have become more automatic and predictable. The early school years also produce a broad array of adult-like symptoms, including extreme fearfulness (i.e., phobias, nightmares); somatic disturbances of psychological etiology (ulcerative colitis, asthma, headaches, repeated vomiting, skin disturbances); stereotyped repetitive rituals (i.e., hand washing, postures at bedtime) or obsessional thoughts; and motor tics (blinking of the eyes, twitching of the face). Since these years provide a moderately faithful preview of behavior for the decade ahead it is a good time to institute prophylactic procedures with those children who display early signs of pathology.

Two other critical concepts are expectancies and affects. An expectancy is an anticipation of an event. The anticipation can be an image or a thought. It is learned through association with specific stimuli and can act, in turn, as an elicitor of responses. Expectancies are among the first psychological processes to develop and they are constantly guiding behavior. One of man's continuing tasks is to create expectancies for the future so that he can reduce uncertainty about events to come.

There are four major classes of expectancies. The first includes anticipations of the behavior of others. The 6 year old expects that his father will punish him if he hits his younger sister; the 10 year old expects his friends to help him if a bully threatens; the 15 year old expects his girl friend to accommodate to him. These ritualized anticipations of particular actions from others are the essential fabric of social interaction.

The second class of expectancies includes the reactions of inanimate objects. The child learns that a glass will break if he drops it; that milk will spill if he tips the cup.

The third class of expectancies is more subjective and deals with the individual's anticipation of whether he will succeed or fail when he is working at a particular task or using his competencies to solve a problem. As the child approaches his fourth year he becomes more acutely conscious of his ability to complete certain tasks that require skills, be they intellectual or motor. He has a subjective feeling of whether he will be able to solve a puzzle in front of him, whether he will be able to climb a rope a peer is urging him to climb. Because the child seeks to avoid the humiliation and unpleasant feelings of failure, he wants to learn which tasks he will succeed at and which tasks he is likely to fail. Each day the child has experiences with a variety of tasks and problems that range from reaching for cookie jars to hitting home runs. The balance of success and failure that accumulates over time eventually leads to the establishment of a relatively stable expectancy of those obstacles and problems that he can deal with successfully and those that he views as too high to scale.

The final set of expectancies is also subjective and centers on anticipations of internal feelings--feelings of pleasure, anger, fear, or sadness.

## Development of affects

The concept of affect, to be regarded as synonymous with the more popular word emotion, has always been extremely difficult to define and near impossible to assess either in the laboratory or in the natural milieu. This difficulty is enhanced when we decide that we wish to index the child's affects at different ages. The popular view of affects assumes that there are some basic internal physiological changes--such as heart rate, motor discharge, or sweating--that accompany the states we call anger, sadness, or joy. These internal physiological states are presumed to have consistency within an individual and, perhaps, universality across mankind. Social scientists readily acknowledge that the logic or the values of a particular culture or subcultural group are arbitrary and can be changed by altering certain aspects of the culture. Emotions, however, have generally been assumed to have a fixed reality; for they were supposed to be the result of biologically fixed physiological reactions. Recent research developments suggest the need for some modification of this traditional view.

Let us define the ingredients of an affect. An affect involves, first, a symbolic interpretation for the combination of three sets of events: (a) internal bodily sensations (to be called visceral afferent stimulation and referring to perceived stimulation from heart, intestine, stomach, muscles, skin and other internal organs), (b) the external situation or context in which the individual finds himself (whether it be his home, the beach, the office, or the school room), and (c) the thoughts and images the individual is having. Sadness, fear, happiness, and anger, like other affects, are names for combinations of these three sets of conditions.

The infant frequently displays behaviors that span a broad intensity of visceral afferent activity. But these episodes are states of excitement. They are not affects. An 8 month old cannot experience disgust, pride, joy or guilt, in the adult sense of the word, for the infant does not have the thoughts that are an integral part of these adult emotions.

As the child acquires language his overt behavior gradually becomes partly under the control of the name or label he applies to the stimulus complex of visceral sensations and context and less strongly tied to the intensity or quality of afferent stimulation he perceives. The ten-year-old is likely to regard himself as happy because he is in a particular situation (e.g., watching a funny movie) perceiving a certain quality of arousal. As a result of the application of the self label "happy" he is more likely to laugh than if he had not primed himself by labeling his state at the moment. The one-year-old infant laughs as a result of direct changes in arousal level and particular external contexts without the intervention of a set of labels for the situation.

The affects of fear, anxiety, shame, guilt, rage, anger, happiness, sadness, excitement, joy, loneliness, and pain are primary for members of Western civilization because these words are typically used to label arousal changes in different contexts, and specific behaviors are learned to these words.

Now that we have considered some basic terms let us turn more directly to the school age child.

### The school situation

School entrance for most children marks the first continuous separation from mother for a large part of the day. The school situation presents the 6 year old with a new adult to whom he must conform and whose acceptance he is encouraged to court. This adult requires the child to learn and practice responses that, at least initially, are not inherently pleasant or exciting. The school's major responsibilities are to facilitate (a) the development of a motive to be intellectually competent, and (b) specific intellectual skills, including the ability to persevere in problem solving, and to formulate long range goals. The school also provides the child with special opportunities to establish relationships with age mates, and recently educators have decided that improving the quality of peer relations is part of the pedagogical enterprise.

In almost every instance the child's first teacher is a woman who praises what she regards as good behavior and punishes what she regards as bad, and nurtures the child when he is anxious. The teacher's appearance, attitudes and actions are usually similar to those of the child's mother, especially if teacher and mother are from the same social class. Many children react to the teacher as though she were a substitute mother. The motives, attitudes, fears, and behaviors that the child has developed in relation to his own mother often generalize to the teacher. Since mothers are generally viewed by young children as more nurturant and less fear arousing than fathers, there is some advantage in having a woman as the child's first adult contact in the school.

However, there might be some gain, especially for boys, if primary grade teachers were men. The typical 6 year old boy is establishing an identification with his father and other male role models and the boy's attempt to increase similarity to adult males predisposes him to rebel against the mother. Most boys regard the father as the dominant figure in the household and boys of 6 and 7 are encouraged to deemphasize the power and competence of adult females. The frequent mischievous behavior of first and second grade boys indicates that they are less anxious than girls over potential rejection by the female teacher. The fact that academic retardation, school reading retardation and conduct problems are five times more frequent among boys than girls in the first five years of school is indirect evidence that boys enter school with greater resistance to the school than girls. This resistance might be less intense if the teacher were a man. Finally, children are more likely to associate the act of acquiring knowledge with masculinity if their elementary grade teachers were men instead of women. The degree of masculinity or femininity associated with any activity is a function primarily of the sex of the person who normally performs the behavior. Cooking, sewing, and caring for children are feminine because women typically do them. Repairing fences, mowing the lawn and fishing are masculine because men act in these contexts. Since elementary school classes are conducted by women, young children have a tendency to view school work as more closely related to femininity than to masculinity, and, therefore, more appropriate for girls than for boys (Kagan, 1964). This attitude increases the girls' motivation to master reading and spelling but inhibits deep involvement for some boys.

The major behaviors our culture promotes during the first five years of school include the intellectual skills of reading, arithmetic, and spelling, and the social habits and attitudes that are valued in this particular culture. In the United States and Europe the teacher's values are typically middle class in content for she rewards neatness, obedience, cooperation, and cleanliness, and punishes waste, lack of responsibility, lying, aggressiveness, and idiosyncratic behaviors. It is an established fact that children of middle class families and better educated parents are more highly motivated and perform better in the early years of school than children of lower class and less well educated parents. The reasons for this social class difference in performance are not puzzling. School success is more important in maintaining class membership in the middle class than in the lower class. The middle class child recognizes that the career or vocation to which he might aspire depends heavily on the acquisition of academic skills. Moreover, middle class parents encourage their children to work hard in school and to develop an interest in intellectual hobbies in the home. Finally, the child of a doctor, lawyer, or architect has the opportunity to watch the father read books or journals, and display a personal interest in intellectual problems. Middle class parents are identification models who not only reward mastery of intellectual tasks but also display to the child an active involvement in intellectual mastery that indicates to the child that the parents value these goals.

### The concept of identification

A 6 year old boy feels proud as he watches his father defeat a rival in tennis, or his brother hit a winning home run. A young girl feels the elation of being "grown up" as she puts on her mother's apron and attempts to bake a pie. A 10 year old feels ashamed when the police arrest his father or commit his mother to a mental institution. In each of these examples the child is behaving as if he possessed some of the characteristics of another person to whom he feels similar. The proud 6 year old boy experiences an emotion that resembles the emotion he would feel if he had won the tennis match, not his father. The girl behaves as though she had her mother's culinary skills as she prepares to bake a pie; the 10 year old feels as though he, and not the parent, had been arrested or institutionalized. The term identification is used to explain this phenomenon of vicarious sharing in the affective states of others.

Identification is a belief held by an individual (called S) that some of the attributes of a model (M) (e.g., parents, siblings, relatives, peers, fictional figures) are also possessed by S. Thus, a boy who realizes that he and his father share the same name, sees that they have similar birth marks on their faces, and is told by relatives that he and his father both have lively tempers, develops a belief that he is similar to his father. This belief is called an identification.

Since children do not develop strong identifications with everyone with whom they share some similarity, but do develop identifications with more than one model, it is important to consider the conditions that determine the strength of the identification belief. We must consider four different but related processes in order to understand, in depth, the bases and implications of the concept of identification.

Process # 1. The individual (S) believes that he and a model (M) share physical and/or psychological attributes (i.e., the S believes that some of the characteristics or attributes of the M also belong to him).

Process # 2. S experiences vicarious affective reactions that are appropriate to events that are occurring to the model. The pride a child feels as he or she watches the father give a well received speech in front of a large audience is a good example of the phenomenon of a vicarious emotional reaction.

Process # 3. S wants to acquire the attributes of the model that he perceives to be desirable, and he wants to have access to the positive goal states that S believes M to possess. The child perceives that adults, especially his parents, are stronger and wiser than he and have special privileges and easy access to desirable goals. S wants these privileges and goals for himself. He wants to be strong, to be able to boss small people around, to be able to decide what and when to eat, where and when to go to bed, to drive a car, to swim out in deep water, to pick up heavy things. In short, the child would like to have the skills and privileges adults possess.

Process # 4. S adopts and practices attitudes and behaviors that adult models display because he believes that by increasing his similarity to the model, he might command the desirable attributes that were discussed in process # 3.

### The relationship of identification to behavioral development

The processes surrounding identification with and imitation of a model are as influential in determining behavioral differences among children as differential reward and punishment of specific acts. Consider the lower class child who is rewarded for studying in school and punished for poor school performance, but whose parents do not themselves display any personal interest in the acquisition of knowledge. This child will not be as motivated to master school tasks as the child whose parents display an active interest in these matters. For the child attributes special value to those behaviors practiced by desirable models. One major reason for the poor academic performance of lower class children is not parental failure to reward perseverance in school but their failure to provide a model for this behavior.

### Identification and sex typing

One of the primary attributes of an identification with a model is his or her sex because of the child's desire to be appropriately sex typed. The child learns sex typed values between three and ten years of age and although the effects of sex typing are clearest during the school years, this process begins its growth during the preschool period.

## Sex role identification and intellectual mastery

Although competence in intellectual and academic tasks is not as clearly a sex typed trait as aggression or dependency, it appears that degree of involvement in challenging intellectual problems is greater for adolescent and adult males than for females. Why is this so? Particularly well-documented is the fact that skill at problems requiring analysis and reasoning (primarily those involving spatial and mechanical reasoning, science, and mathematics) are viewed as more appropriate for boys than for girls, and girls perform less well on them (Bennett and Cruikshank, 1942; Havighurst and Janke, 1944; Heilman, 1933; Herzberg and Lepking, 1954; Kostick, 1954; Lord, 1941; Mellone, 1944; Swineford, 1948; Tyler, 1947). To illustrate, when adolescent or adult subjects were presented with problems involving primarily mathematical or geometric reasoning, the males consistently obtained higher scores than females. Moreover, there was a low positive relationship between interest in culturally approved masculine activities (athletics and mechanics) and quality of problem solving scores for both sexes. The female who rejected traditional feminine interests performed better on mathematical and geometric problems than the girl who had adopted traditional feminine behaviors. However, if the verbal problem dealt with feminine content, (cooking and gardening materials) the females scored better than if the problem dealt with guns, money, or geometric designs, even though the logical steps and computations were identical. It seems that the typical female believes that the ability to solve problems involving geometry, physics, logic, or arithmetic is a uniquely masculine skill, and her motivation to attack such problems is low. This decreased involvement may reflect the fact that the girl's self esteem is not at stake in such problems, or the fact that she is potentially threatened by the possibility that she might perform with competence on such tasks. For unusual excellence on such tasks may be equated with a loss of femininity.

The sex difference in problem solving appears early in development and under different guises. Boys are more likely to adopt an analytic approach to natural events in the environment and to formal problems. Smith (1933), for example, reported that preschool boys asked many more "how" and "why" questions about social rules and the conventional labels to be applied to objects. Milton (1958) gave problems to men and women and asked them to state whether their preference would be to analyze the situation, go for help, or adopt a trial-and-error approach in the solution of this problem. Males were much more likely to select the analytic alternative. The masculine preference for analysis is also present in boys' tendency to fractionate visual stimuli, for 8 and 9 year old boys are more likely than girls to analyze a complex design into its component parts.

Other sex differences in problem solving approach relate to autonomy and persistence. McDavid (1959) had children 3 to 9 years of age observe an adult perform a task. When the children were later asked to perform the task the girls were more likely to imitate the adult than the boys. Crandall and Rabson (1960) gave children two puzzles, one of which they solved, the other they failed. When the children were asked subsequently to which one they wished to return, more boys than girls chose the failed puzzle. In sum, boys appear to be more analytic, more independent, and more persistent in problem situations presented in a laboratory setting. This difference grows with time and by late adolescence and adulthood the typical female feels less adequate than the male when faced with most problems requiring analysis and reasoning. There are, of course, important social class differences in this belief. Women from well educated families typically feel more adequate intellectually than the daughters of working class families. But within each socioeconomic class, the girl usually feels less adequate intellectually than the male.

The sex typed character of domains of knowledge is most evident in the vocational choices of young adolescents. A recent national survey of thousands of high school students conducted by Project Talent asked students about their planned major in college and future occupational choice. The sex typed character of their choices was already evident in the ninth grade. For example, 25 per cent of the boys and only three per cent of the girls selected the physical or natural sciences or engineering; whereas, three per cent of the boys and 13 per cent of the girls chose elementary or secondary school education as future vocations (Flanagan, unpublished).

A third reason for the girl's lower motivation and performance in science and mathematics--in addition to her belief that females are not supposed to be competent in these areas and her reluctance to analyze problems--is the fact that a girl's sex role identity is more dependent on her ability to attract and maintain a love relationship than on her academic skills. For many males, however, academic excellence is viewed as a necessary antecedent to vocational success. Since vocational success is an essential component of the male's sex role identity we would expect the adolescent male to be more highly motivated to master those tasks that are linked to his vocational aspirations. It is also possible that the girl more often works to obtain the acceptance and approval of her teacher and parents, while the boy is more likely to view mastery as a test of his personal adequacy. Thus, the male's performance may be more frequently oriented to "figure the task," rather than "figure the teacher."

Although an intense involvement in academic mastery is more characteristic of the adolescent and adult male than female, this is not the case in the primary grades. In Kindergarten through Grade four the girl typically outperforms the boy in all areas, and the ratio of boys to girls with reading problems ranges from three to one to six to one (Bentzen, 1963; Tyler, 1947). Why is there a developmental shift between age 6 and 17? How can we explain the fact that girls' academic performances are superior to boys during the early school years but gradually become inferior during late adolescence and adulthood. One reason is that among late adolescent boys academic proficiency is linked to vocational success, and the boy's motivation is stronger than it was during the early years of school. Moreover, the girl's motivation toward mastery is decreasing with age as a result of anxiety over feeling intellectually more competent than the boy, and conflict over excessive competitiveness. Let us explain this last statement on competitiveness. It is not uncommon for an adolescent to view intense intellectual strivings as a competitively aggressive behavior. In order to obtain the best grade in a class one must often defeat a peer in open debate and in examination score. Competition, therefore, has obvious aggressive overtones. Since the typical female has greater anxiety over aggressive and competitive behavior than the male (Buss, 1961; Kagan and Moss, 1962), she experiences greater conflict over intellectual competition. This conflict can lead to inhibition of intense strivings over academic excellence.

Another reason for the gradually increasing academic superiority of boys is the change in perception of the sex typed character of school and academic work. First and second grade boys have more difficulty than girls in mastering reading, writing, or arithmetic because the average boy perceives the school atmosphere as excessively feminine. Since the 6 year old boy is striving to develop a masculine sex role identification, he resists involvement in feminine situations. The case for a feminine atmosphere in the primary grades rests on the following facts. The child's introduction into school is mediated by female teachers who usually initiate the activities of painting, coloring, and singing. Moreover, most teachers place a premium on obedience, decorum, and inhibition of aggressive and restless behavior. These activities and values are clearly more appropriate for girls than for boys, and it might be expected that most children would view the school situation as more feminine than masculine. Recent studies at the Fels Institute indicate that children in the second grade do view the school situation as more feminine than masculine. Since one cannot ask a child directly whether a blackboard or a book is masculine or feminine, the experiments used a minor disguise. Second and third grade children were taught different nonsense syllables to stand for maleness and femaleness. They were then shown pictures of school related objects (i.e., blackboard, page of arithmetic, book, school desk, library), as well as non-academic stimuli. The results indicated that second grade boys and girls were more likely to label the school objects feminine than masculine (Kagan, 1965). This tendency diminished with age, especially for boys. The labeling of the non-academic objects was in accord with expectation (e.g., the children called a cup feminine, and a lion masculine).

A more sophisticated differentiation of academic work occurs during the adolescent years. This differentiation turns on the schism between the sciences and the humanities. The adolescent begins to classify knowledge on three related dimensions: Is it practical or impractical? Does it have an important effect upon the world, or is it unrelated to instrumental changes in the environment? Does it deal with machines or words? Since a pragmatic, instrumental, and mechanical orientation to nature are central in the sex role standard for males (Parsons, 1955), some adolescent boys are highly motivated to master the sciences, but poorly motivated to acquire impractical subject matters (e.g., language or history) that involve only words and ideas. This difference in involvement and performance results from the implicit association between subject matter and sex role standards. Similarly, the girl who has chosen a masculine career, such as law, medicine, or science, may experience anxiety over exerting effort in an activity that is not traditionally feminine.

It appears that there are strong semantic associations between the words masculinity or femininity, and specific areas of knowledge for most adult members of western culture. This is an unfortunate marriage, for one would hope that knowledge would retain neutrality amidst the warring factions of the mind. There is, however, cause for some optimism. Many institutions in our society are beginning to erode the foundation of this equation. American elementary and high schools--long the exclusive home of female faculty--now contain a larger proportion of men on the faculty, especially in the high schools. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology has decided recently to emphasize the humanities in its program for engineers and physical scientists, and women are beginning to win Nobel prizes in science and medicine and accepting executive positions in business. It may be possible to change dramatically the associational link between specific domains of knowledge and the sex roles through appropriate modifications in the procedures and atmosphere of the elementary and secondary schools.

### The role of the peer group

The child typically wants acceptance from his peers and this motive pushes him to adopt the standards of the peer group. The standards of the peer group often conflict with those of parents and teachers, and one may wonder why the power of the peer group to shape values and beliefs is so strong. There are several reasons for the enormous influence of peers on a child's standards and motives. First, the peer group fosters rebellion against the socialization demands of the adult community. The peers promote discussion of sexuality and some sexual exploration. Peers give license for aggressive play and venting of hostility. The child feels safer in talking about and expressing prohibitive actions with peers, and friends function for each other as mutual psychotherapists. A child who feels intense anxiety over his resentment toward his parents, feels less guilt when he hears that his friends also experience strong hostility to their families.

Second, the peer group communicates its evaluation of the child--positive or negative--by giving or withholding group acceptance. Parental acceptance is interpreted as signifying that the parents evaluate the child positively, and group acceptance is interpreted in the same way. But why should the child want the group's positive evaluation, which is mediated by their acceptance of him? Why isn't parental acceptance sufficient? It seems that the child trusts the group's evaluation and often mistrusts the adults'.

The child evaluates himself on many psychological dimensions by inferring his rank order from a particular peer or sibling group. The 10 year old does not have absolute measuring rods to help him decide how bright, handsome, wise, honest, beautiful, poised, or likeable he is. He has no absolute definitions as he has for height, weight or skin color. He naturally and spontaneously uses his immediate peer group as the reference for these evaluations. As a result, the child's evaluation is dependent upon the size and psychological quality of the reference group, and cannot be defined absolutely. Specifically, the larger the peer group, the less likely a child will conclude he is high in the rank order, the less likely he will decide he is unusually smart, handsome, or capable of leadership. Although close to 50% of our population live in three large urban areas, the vast majority of the astronaut candidates grew up in rural or semi-urban areas. One interpretation of this fact is that the typical astronaut perceived himself in childhood as unusually braver, smarter and more inventive than most of his peers. This conclusion was facilitated because the future astronaut grew up in a small town or city where few boys were as talented as he. If he had grown up in Chicago he would have encountered many boys equal to or more brilliant than he and he would not have developed the belief that he was exceptional. The child's evaluation of his intelligence is less a function of his absolute IQ score than it is of his perceived rank relative to his age mates. Imagine two children, Jack and Paul, each with identical IQ scores (130, let us say) and identical profiles on the best standardized tests of mental ability. But Jack lives in a small town of 2,000 population, attends a fifth grade class of 25, and interacts with a group of ten boys his own age. Paul lives in a city of one million, attends one of 100 fifth grade classes with an immediate peer reference group of perhaps 200. Jack is likely to perceive himself to be the brightest in his immediate peer group; Paul is likely to perceive himself in the 70th percentile. Jack's expectancy of success with intellectual tasks should be greater than Paul's; and his behavior, in the face of difficult problems, should reflect less anxiety over possible failure.

A third function of peers is to provide role models for identification. Some peers are respected and command power positions and the child will be predisposed to adopt the leader's standards and behaviors in the hope of eventually commanding his power and competencies.

Finally, peers teach the child a role to play in a group, and by casting him in a role push him toward playing the part ascribed to him. Unlike the small family setting with two adults and two or three children of different ages and sexes, the same sex peer group has no obvious differentiation by age and sex. But it is natural for both adults and children in a group to organize and to differentiate. The differentiation involves assigning different roles to various members. First, there will be a leader. There will be the leader's closest advisor; there will be a scapegoat. These three roles are absolute necessities in a group. Other roles, which are not always present, include the role of the intellectual, the clown, the rebel, the athlete, and the "ladies man". It is common for the children cast in these roles to take them seriously and to behave in a way that is concordant with the role given to them. One reason for adopting the behavior appropriate to the role is that the group gives acceptance and even distinction to the child who plays the role properly. Thus, the child derives some satisfaction from this behavior.

In sum, the peer group acts as psychotherapist, helps the child evaluate himself on critical attributes, gives him a role to play and provides him with role models with whom he might identify. The peer group exerts major control over the child because it holds important resources that the pre-adolescent requires.

## The nature of mental performance

In order to understand the basis for a child's intellectual performance in or out of school, it is necessary to consider the interaction of five factors--elemental skills, strategies of processing information, motives, standards, and sources of anxiety.

## Elemental units

A primary requisite for the learning of new information, the solving of problems, or the enjoyment of playful thought is a previously acquired set of symbols or cognitive units. These units are comprised primarily of images, words, and rules. The child must have a minimal vocabulary level in order to understand speech, to comprehend the written word, to report orally the product of his thinking. The child must also have learned certain rules that represent combinations of symbols. He should know, by age 10, that 2 x 3 is 6 while 2 + 3 is 5. He should know, by age 12, that cities develop where means of transportation are plentiful. Later, he should learn that the area of a circle is $\pi r^2$; that acts that are illegal at one time in history may be regarded as appropriate 100 years later.

The sets of images, vocabulary, and rules are the basic tools with which the child interprets the world and does mental work. Consider an analogy from industry. Rules and vocabulary are the basic equipment for the production of thought as lathes, drills, and presses are the necessary equipment for the manufacture of large, complex steel products. This child is only able to understand information that either matches or is a trifle in advance of his own vocabulary and rules. If a new idea, equation, or word does not have some connection to his available cognitive units he will learn very little. The primary reason for dramatic differences in quality of thinking among children of preschool age is basic differences in richness of vocabulary and rule resources. Although this richness of vocabulary and rules continues to be important during the later years, other factors contribute to differences in cognitive performance during pre and early adolescence.,

Most tests of intellectual ability and achievement simultaneously assess both vocabulary and rules. Since these tests confound both factors, they are not able to determine the specific deficit that led to a mistake. For example, a typical problem in a 6th grade arithmetic book reads: "The circumference of a lake is 200 miles, what is the distance a swimmer must swim from any point on the shore to the exact center of the lake?" The child who fails to obtain the correct answer to this problem may have done so because he did not know the meaning of the word circumference. On the other hand, he may have failed because he did not know the rule that the circumference equals $2\pi r$, or because he knew neither the word nor the rule. It is important to diagnose exactly where the cognitive deficit is in order to help the child maximally.

## Ways of decoding experience and processing information

There are important differences in the ways children label and interpret experience. These differences are dramatic for children of different ages and, although less dramatic, exist also among a group of children of the same chronological age. Let us consider, first, some of the differences that are a product of development.

The child--as does every animal--decodes and interprets information that is presented to him. He does this naturally and spontaneously. But the scene of a brown and white cow chewing grass by a fence will be interpreted in different ways by the one- three- five- or ten-year-old child. How can we explain this difference in interpretation? One answer lies in the nature of the units that will do the decoding. We know that a bee sees a flower much differently than a humming bird because the nature of their receptors is different. The bee has ommatidia while the bird has a pupil, lens, and retina. Since the structure of the receptor is different, the final decoded message to the nervous system of bee or bird must of necessity be different. But infant, child, and adolescent have the same initial receptor and thus we have to look higher in the order of things for an answer as to why infant and older child will decode our pastoral scene in a different way. The answer lies in the units that perform the interpretation. These units are the local currency into which the new coin of experience is converted. In the more modern language of computers, the units are the program code. There are three basic translation codes--images, words, and rules. In a general way, the infant and young child translate experience into images; the older child, words; the adolescent and adult with both words and rules. Although words are not faithful to reality, they lend an efficiency and communicability to experience that is not characteristic of images.

Many educators have begun to use Cuisenaire rods with first grade children in order to teach them the fundamentals of arithmetic and numeration. The advantage of this particular method of teaching numbers is that it gives the young child a concrete introduction to the concept of number as a magnitude estimator. Numbers are a new experience for the child. The stimulus 1 + 1 = ⏢ is a new stimulus to be decoded. If the mental units or currency given the child for decoding numbers are rods of different lengths and colors then the child will build up quickly a strong tendency to translate all numbers and problems into these rods. This is the mental currency he will use. Notice how troublesome and disadvantageous this will be when long division or multiplication problems are confronted. Research has taught us that we have to wean the young child from the Cuisenaire representation of numbers before he becomes addicted to it and becomes unable to shift to a new translation system.

The mind is vulnerable to addiction to codes and therefore, rigidity in translation systems. If the child overlearns one method of understanding or decoding a problem, he is cut off from assimilating it in another way.

Differences in processing information among children of the same age

All 10 year old children do not label or decode experience in the same way. We say that children have different strategies of processing stimuli and of selecting ideas for thought. Some children are typically global as they scan a visual stimulus; others are more detailed and analytic. The analytic child sees the trees while the global child sees the forest. Both skills are important, and depending on the specific problem facing the child one may be a more appropriate strategy than the other.

A second strategy of processing information deals with the child's tempo of responding; the speed with which he decides on the correct label for an object or the correct rule to apply. Some children make decisions quickly--impulsively--others brood a long time before deciding what solution they should work on or what answer they should report to a teacher. The former group is called impulsive; the latter reflective. Evaluation of the quality of one's thought occurs at three points in the process of solving a problem. During the first phase, the child reads or listens to a problem and decodes the language of the problem. Some words may have double or ambiguous meanings. Does the child pause to evaluate the most probable meaning? The reflective child does evaluate his comprehension, the impulsive child is less likely to consider whether his classifications are correct. As a result, the impulsive child often misinterprets problems.

A second place where evaluation is important is when a hypothesis is selected. Consider a typical arithmetic problem for a fourth grader.

"Four children have 16 pennies. Each one wants to have the same amount of pennies. How many does each get?"

The 9 year old child has learned a rote rule that you either add, subtract, multiply or divide whenever you have two numbers. The child has two numbers, 4 and 16. What operation should he perform? The impulsive child may quickly decide that adding 4 and 16 is the correct rule to use and shout out that the answer is 20. The impulsive child fails to pause to consider the probable validity that addition is the right rule to use in this problem.

A final opportunity for evaluation occurs when the child has to report his solution to someone, either by speaking it aloud or writing it down. The impulsive child is less likely than the reflective to consider the accuracy of his answer; to give it one last check for validity.

The reflective child pauses to evaluate the quality of his hypotheses in three critical places in the problem solving sequence and he is less likely to make a mistake. The tendency to be reflective or impulsive is highly stable over time and generalizes across a wide variety of tasks. Why is a child reflective or impulsive? A clue to understanding the deeper basis for reflection or impulsivity comes from the idea that reflective children seem to be afraid of making a mistake. The reflective child has unusually high anxiety over making an error and this is why he broods a long time before acting. The impulsive child cares less about mistakes and he places weaker inhibitions upon action.

The tendency to be reflective or impulsive does not generalize for every behavior the child displays. A reflective child in school may not be reflective in athletics because he may be minimally anxious about making a mistake on the playing field. If anxiety over possible failure is high (this means that the child cares about success but is uncertain about whether he will obtain it) the child may vacillate and appear reflective. The tests usually used to measure reflection-impulsivity are seen by the children as tests of their intellectual ability. Thus, one class of reflective children have high anxiety over failure on intellectual tasks. But a child who is anxious over failure on an academic task (and is reflective on such tests) might have minimal anxiety over social rejection, which is failure in the social realm. As a consequence, he might not be "reflective" and vacillating in a new social situation. The young child (age 3-8) tends to generalize habits across many different areas of functioning. The response used as a reaction to one source of anxiety is often generalized to other sources of anxiety. Moreover, anxiety over failure in school is often characteristic of the child who is also anxious over social rejection from his peers. As the child matures, sources of anxiety differentiate more sharply. The adolescent has a chance to conquer specific fears and a clearer separation of varied causes of anxiety occurs. There is, therefore, less generalization of a reflective tendency across many areas of functioning in the adolescent and young adult. It is not uncommon to find many adults who are reflective with respect to decisions regarding their work, but impulsive with respect to decisions involving interactions with their spouses or friends.

Can a child's tempo be changed

Although the tendency to be impulsive or reflective when faced with a problem situation is often a basic attribute of the child's personality, it is not so entrenched that it cannot be changed to some degree. It is possible to make an impulsive child more reflective either through direct training or through exposure to people who have a different tempo. In one investigation (Kagan et al.) a group of impulsive first grade children were instructed to think about their answer while they were solving a problem and to inhibit the first response that occurred to them. The child was told that he could not offer an answer for 15 seconds and that the examiner would tell him when it was permitted to give an answer to a problem. After only two hours of such training, a spontaneous tendency to be more reflective when they were faced with problems was noted. Another study showed the importance of the tempo of the teacher. A group of first grade teachers were tested in order to determine if they were reflective or impulsive and each of the children in their classes was also tested in the beginning of his first year in school and at the end of his first year. The children who spent their first year with a reflective teacher were more reflective in June than they were in September; whereas, the children who spent their first year with an impulsive teacher were more impulsive in the spring than they were in the fall (Yonda). Thus, training and exposure to models are two ways in which a child's strategy of approaching problems can undergo change.

### Motives, standards, and sources of anxiety

A final trio of processes that exerts considerable influence over the quality of the school age child's mental products concerns the motives that prompt him to acquire new segments of knowledge and to utilize those he has obtained; the standard of performance he possesses and the anxiety based inhibitions that oppose new learning and effective performance. Unlike rats in laboratories who learn mazes in order to get pellets of food or to avoid painful electric shock, children work at intellectual tasks for more sophisticated goals. The goals that entice a child to memorize the Gettysburg Address or work at a difficult mathematics problem overlap with the major goals that motivate most of his behavior.

Let us review the major goals of a typical 10 year old.

1. Affection and praise from significant adults and peers; signs from people he values that indicate that he is positively regarded by parents, teachers, peers.
2. The belief that he is becoming more similar to desirable adult models.
3. Support for the belief that he is competent (i.e., congruence with a standard for mastery).
4. Responses from peers and adults which signify that he is "superior" on some dimension (social recognition).
5. Power over peers.
6. Support for the belief that he is behaving in congruence with sex typed values.

If the child believes that mastery of academic subject matter will increase the likelihood of gratifying one or more of these motives he will work hard at learning these skills. Some children will choose academic competence as a route to these goals; others will choose other means of obtaining them.

The major forces that influence the child's choice are (a) the degree to which the child's parents value academic skills and use parental acceptance as a barter to motivate the child, (b) the degree to which the models the child has chosen for identification display an active interest in intellectual mastery, and (c) the child's expectation of success in intellectual work. The latter variable is of critical importance, for the typical child wishes to avoid failure at all costs. The strength of his motive to master academic skills is governed, in large measure, by the degree to which he expects he will be successful. If the child believes he will not be able to learn geometry (he has a low expectancy of success), he will probably become less motivated to work at this goal. Thus, children often grow cool toward school work if they believe they cannot do the work. The typical high school drop-out says that he is bored with school; that he has no desire to attend classes. In most instances, this apparently low motivation is the final result of a long succession of school failures that led to the feeling that he could not learn effectively. The low expectation of success produced the minimal level of motivation. An unusually high expectation of success often has a similar effect on motivation. A student who believes he will have no trouble mastering algebra often will not be optimally motivated in class. He will not view the work as challenging. It is not uncommon to find college students avoiding subjects that they are intrinsically interested in because they view the material as too easy to master. This kind of student has a strong motive to prove that he is intellectually competent and he feels he cannot prove this to himself by studying easy materials. Here an unusually high expectation of success can produce lowered motivation.

It appears that when a person is a bit unsure of his ability to learn something, his motivation is the highest. In more formal terms, we say that when expectancy of success is moderate (the child is moderately uncertain), motivation is the highest.

If the motive remains low for a long period of time--either because of too high or too low expectancy of success (or for other reasons), the person may stop thinking about the goal. Since the strength of the motive is proportional to the frequency of ungratified wishes, the intensity of the motive will be reduced if the wish does not occur.

## Conflicts

There are other sources of anxiety that can block investment of effort in intellectual work, aside from expectancy of failure. If school success is not viewed as congruent with sex role standards, effort will be low. Every child wants to adopt a set of behaviors that he believes will increase his similarity to his sex role. If the child believes that reading or arithmetic proficiency is not appropriate to his sex role he will not work at developing this skill.

A second conflict involves the child's hostility toward his parents. If the child perceives that his parents value intellectual mastery but he happens to feel strong resentment toward them, an excellent way of gratifying this hostility is to not perform in the way the parents wish. When he fails in school his parents display obvious signs of anxiety and upset and provide the child with an effective means of gratifying his hostility. A third conflict, which is less common than the other two, concerns anxiety over excessive competitiveness. In the rank order culture in which we live the child who wishes to be number one or number two in his class usually entertains competitive and hostile wishes toward his classroom rivals. If the child feels that these hostile wishes violate his standards he will become anxious and may inhibit intense effort.

A fourth factor concerns anxiety over peer rejection. In most communities the peer group promotes academic mediocrity for the peers are likely to reject the child who is unusually good in school. The taunt "teacher's pet" is common among young children. The child who wants to be accepted by his friends and is anxious about potential rejection may inhibit effort at academic mastery in order to retain peer acceptance.

A final conflict deals with anxiety over assuming the passive role with the teacher. During the primary grades the child is placed in a passive role vis-a-vis the teacher. He is supposed to do what the teacher says and conform to her wishes. Most boys of this age are in the midst of developing an assertive identification; a dominant posture with women as a result of their beginning identification with masculine role models. Anxiety over assuming a passive role, which violates and opposes this identification, can block involvement in school work.

## The influence of parental attitudes and behavior

The body of this paper has described the major classes of responses learned during the first decade of life. These dimensions are responsible for the dramatic individual differences in behavior noted in most 10 year olds. However, there has been no systematic discussion of those parental behaviors and attitudes that give direction to these changes. Human agents are the major sources of frustration, joy, pleasure, or anger for the child and, as a result, are the major governing psychological development. The extent of this influence can be ordered from parents to siblings to peers to teachers to the public media in that order. This hierarchy of influence corresponds roughly to the temporal order during which these agents exert their major effect. For parents and siblings exert their maximal influence during the first 6 to 7 years; peers and teachers during the preadolescent period; and the public media have their maximal effect during early adolescence. The mode of influence among these five agents is also dissimilar. People sculpt the behavior of the child in three ways: through direct reward and punishment, and as a consequence of their role as models for the child. Let us consider each of these mechanisms separately. If parental nurturance, acceptance, and praise are valued, and it is unusual for this development not to occur, selected responses will be established and maintained with parental nurturance and acceptance acting as the reward. The early vocalizations and primitive speech of the 2 and 3 year old are accompanied by peals of praise and recognition by adults. These rewarding reactions from adults act as incentives to elicit more language behavior. The 6 year old is praised for tying his shoes, picking up his fork correctly, or learning his multiplication tables, and this praise strengthens these dispositions. Punishment is a second method of effecting changes in behavior. Whether the punishment be physical spanking, threatened rejection, or deprivation of goals, the anxiety generated by punishment usually leads to inhibition of the undesirable response and, in many cases, substitution of another act. Inhibition of immediate evacuation, direct aggression, or open masturbation are mediated, in part, by the anxiety attached to the stimuli originally eliciting the undesired response. Finally, the modeling process associated with identification molds the child's behavior. The details of this process have already been described.

Parents, teachers, and peers act in all three capacities for they reward, punish, and act as models simultaneously and successively. The public media--books and TV--exert influence primarily through the modeling process, and the extensiveness of their influence is underestimated. From a developmental perspective, the modeling mechanism is the last to assume power. In sum, the infant's behavior is molded through nurturance and affection; punishment is added to the recipe during the second and third years, and modeling assumes salience during the fourth and fifth years.

### The influence of the mother

The aspects of the mother's behavior that are most salient to the child are not completely clear and a differentiation must be made between specific behaviors, such as spanking, verbal chastisement, or kissing, and the more abstract attitude variables that carry the names rejection, acceptance, or autonomy giving. The operational definitions for maternal rejection cannot be the same for all cultural or subcultural groups. Mothers in the isolated rural areas of northern Norway rarely talk to their children and move them away from doorways with an indifference that is characteristic of the treatment shown a pair of shoes that are out of place. An American psychologist would be prone to label this behavior as rejecting if he saw it in a middle class Chicago mother. But it may be a serious mistake to view this act as indicative of rejection in a rural Norwegian mother. It must be agreed, therefore, that one meaning of rejection is that of parental attitude; an attitude of dislike and hostility toward the child. It is not immediately obvious which specific behaviors should be regarded as the best operational indexes of that parental attitude. Neglect of the child's needs for food, warmth, or comfort; open and direct criticism; and expression of rage at the child are popular and even reasonable indexes of a rejecting attitude. But many mothers do not frequently express these behaviors in undisguised form and there is no general agreement on subtle indexes of a rejecting attitude.

Consider the following two hypothetical cases as illustrations of the problem. An uneducated mother typically slaps her four year old boy across the face when he does not come to the table on time. The intensity of the mother's act tempts our observer to conclude that the mother hates, or at best, does not like her child. However, during a half hour conversation with the mother she says she loves her child and wants to guarantee that he does not grow up to be a bad boy or a delinquent. And she believes firmly that physical punishment is the most effective way to socialize him. Now her behavior seems to be issued in the service of love rather than hate.

A 20 year old adult from a blue collar family talks affectively about the severe restriction and punishment she experienced as a child, but adds that she appreciates her parents, for they helped her develop the character she has today.

In another part of the city, the 20 year old daughter of a free lance writer spews out hate toward her parents who, she claims, were too permissive. She is convinced that their laissez-faire attitude reflected a lack of concern for her welfare. Which parents were rejecting?

This question cannot be answered by focusing primarily on the behaviors of parents. A second kind of rejection is concerned primarily with the belief held by the child. Like pleasure, pain, beauty, or love, this brand of rejection is in the mind of the rejectee. It is a belief held by a child; not an action by a parent. Thus we have two meanings of rejection--an attitude on the part of parent to child and a belief held by the child. The two are not of the same cloth.

Theorists regard the concept of maternal rejection as important because it is supposed to lead the child to develop the belief that he is not loved and valued. If that is the case, it is probably fallacious to search for a set of behaviors that unequivocally lead the child to develop the belief that he is not loved. Let us assume that a critical variable in rejection is the degree to which the child believes the parent does not value him. The child arrives at this conclusion on the basis of the quality of the parents' sacrifices for him and his perception of the enjoyment they derive from being with him. The child of 9 years is aware of the resources the parent gives easily--with no pain--and those which he is reluctant to share with the child. If parents have little money, a 25 cent gift will be viewed as a sign of high affection for the child realizes he has been given a scarce resource. The wealthy executive who brings home a five dollar toy after each four day business trip does not communicate affection for the child does not view the gift as a sacrifice. The money is not a scarce resource. On the other hand, a long walk on Sunday morning between executive father and son, an event the child rarely experiences, will probably be the equivalent of the fifty cent toy truck given to the less privileged child. The perception of being valued must take into account the child's idiosyncratic perceptions of the value of various gifts. Put in simplest form, the child assesses those things the parents find difficult to give to him and these resources become the major tokens of affection. Their scarcity increases their value. The situation is not completely relative or arbitrary for most parents are reluctant to give the child similar things--very expensive gifts, long periods of uninterrupted attention, and reciprocal friendship. These gifts involve sacrifices that many parents will not make because of their own narcissistic needs. Thus, most children come to regard the same resources--uninterrupted attention and expensive gifts--as symbolic of love and positive evaluation. Adults also evaluate the affectionate intent of a gift by the presumed sacrifice made by the giver. If a wealthy uncle sends a $10.00 check to his nephew the feeling is less positive than if he sent a home made movie of equal monetary value. The perception of being valued lies with the receiver; as the perception of beauty rests with the beholder. Neither love nor beauty reside in any objective form in the world; they are experienced by people. The psychologist's task, therefore, is to assess, first, the distribution of resources that the parent commands, and to measure the child's differential valuation of each of these resources. This information may permit categorization of the degree of rejection or acceptance experienced by the child and, reciprocally, the rejecting or accepting quality of the parent. This definition of rejection-acceptance is relative, not absolute, for it rules out the possibility of deciding that any particular parental reaction always represents rejection.

The definition of rejection as a belief held by a child is only appropriate for the child of 3 or 4 years or older, for it takes several years to develop the conceptual maturity necessary for a child to evaluate his value in the eyes of another. This definition is not appropriate for the infancy period. We must distinguish between the child prior to 30 or 36 months of age, before he symbolically evaluates the action of others, and the child thereafter.

The danger of inferring cause-effect sequences--especially the effect of a maternal practice upon a child response--from an association between particular parental and child behaviors is critical. Close observation of the mother-infant and mother-child interaction indicates that the mother's reactions to the child are governed, in part, by the child's attributes. If he is irritable she reacts with more anger than if he is placid; if he is vigorous she treats him with either more or less restriction than if he is lethargic; if he is frail and appears helpless she is more protective than if he is robust.

We have noted earlier that even in the opening weeks of life the mother's behavior is governed, in part, by the baby's behavior. The irritable babies tended to get more nurturance than the quiet, placid, happy ones. Since boys were generally more irritable than the girls, they tended to elicit more maternal handling.

However, we cannot wholly rule out the personality of the mother in this game between baby and parent. Some of the mothers in the above study were interviewed 2 years prior to the birth of their infant and their dispositions to be nurturant were assessed. The mothers who were regarded as more nurturant were indeed more responsive to their infants at 3 weeks and 3 months of age than those who were regarded as basically less nurturant. Thus, both the mother's personality and the nature of her infant act in concert to determine her behavior with her child. The irritable child with a basically nurturant mother is likely to receive the most intense interaction from the parent. The placid child with a fundamentally non-nurturant mother will receive the least handling. The quality and quantity of interaction between mother and infant is jointly controlled by the baby's biological temperament and the mother's motives and conflicts. This conclusion is intuitively reasonable, for it provides still another example of a generalization that runs through biological and psychological phenomena. The development of a form is a joint function of the basic characteristics of the form and the context in which it grows.

It is also important to note that the mother's behavior toward the infant is not only governed by his actual attributes (whiny, placid, happy), but by the mother's interpretation of the child's characteristics. The mother typically pins a label on the child--actually a series of labels--based initially on his sex, his activity level, his vigor, his size, his health, his irritability. The parent reacts to this label. Mothers typically let 16 week old infant boys cry longer than girls of the same age for they feel boys have to learn to take stress. Mothers are more protective to small, light babies than to heavy ones because they feel these babies are fragile and require more care.

As the child approaches preschool and school age his attributes become more complex and the parents often change the labels they apply to him. Now the labels are based on the child's intellectual competence, degree of masculinity or femininity, attractiveness and popularity. If the child shows signs of brilliance they react differently than if he displays only average intellectual talents. If the girl is attractive the parents behave differently than if she is plain. The problem is complicated because mothers do not assign the same labels and do not react uniformly to the same set of attributes. One mother may regard her son's motor vigor and resistance to sleep as a sign of autonomy and high spirit, and she is pleased that he will probably develop into an active, masculine boy. A second mother, with a different value system and different set of conflicts, may label these same attributes as prognostic of future violence and delinquency, and she punishes expression of motor vigor in her infant. One mother interprets extreme irritability in her daughter as a sign of sensitivity; a second interprets the irritability as indicating that the mother is incompetent, and is doing something wrong with the infant. The child's irritability is threatening to the mother and she may begin to withdraw involvement from her daughter. The child's basic characteristics, therefore, rarely have a constant or invariant result. The child's attributes are cryptic messages which the mother decodes and acts upon. If she misreads the message she may take the wrong action. Since mothers have different standards, motives, and conflicts, they use different languages to decode the infant's behavior and mothers interpret similar child behaviors in dramatically different ways and react differently to the child.

As indicated earlier, the mother's behavior toward her child is governed by a delicate balance between her standards (the way she would like to see him), and her expectations (the way she believes he will develop on the basis of her knowledge of other children in her immediate reference group). Mothers have an initial set of prophecies about how their children will grow, and typically bend their practices to fit these predictions. A mother who decides that her infant will probably not do well in school is not likely to read to him when he approaches preschool age. A mother who believes her daughter will be popular will arrange her child's life so that her daugher has friends, for she wants to insure the validity of her prediction.

If one reflects on this discussion, it soon becomes clear why it is so difficult to attain a comprehensive understanding of human personality development, and why we know so little of each person's individual growth. The situation resembles what the discipline of chemistry would be like if the chemical compounds reacted differently depending on the vessel in which they were placed or the laboratory in which the experiment took place. The parent-child relation is a continual dialogue involving messages the child sends and the parent's interpretations of the message. The interpretation governs the parents' next set of reactions, and so the dialogue continues much like a well practiced ballet. There are a small group of parents, of course, who are relatively unresponsive to the child's attributes. Their reactions to the child are more chronically and consistently a function of their own particular motives and sources of anxiety. Such parents often create pathology in the child, for the child is cast in a definite role from which he cannot escape, whether or not the role fits him well. A mother who has strong conflict over sexuality may restrict her daughter's activities with boys, regardless of the girl's attractiveness or attitudes toward heterosexual behavior. The parent who must have his son become a scientist or doctor regardless of the boy's skills or interests, is likely to create strong hostility in the child, and either passivity or open rebellion toward the parent. In these cases the dialogue has become a monologue. If we are to understand personality development we must discern the standards, anxieties, and motives of each parent, the roles they force the child to play, and the degree of responsiveness and flexibility they display to the child's attributes.

## Summary

Our journey is over, and some reflection on its major landmarks should be of value. The major theme has been that the establishment of the components of the primary response systems--motives, standards, expectancies, affects and sources of anxiety, defenses, and instrumental behaviors--occur at different periods in development. Although the ratio of ignorance to fact is high, and this paper contains much conjecture, we do have a beginning picture of the psychological growth of the typical child and the approximate time of emergence for selected responses. However, there is considerably less information on the mechanisms of that growth and the ways in which environmental events influence response organization. This essay on psychological development is more descriptive than theoretical, and resembles closely Piaget's scheme for intellectual development. Piaget and his colleagues delineate stages of cognitive functioning with reasonable accuracy and allow one to predict that a 9 year old will show conservation of volume or space, and will be able to deal with some hypothetical problem conditions. Similarly, one can expect most 9 year olds to have identified with a parent, to be concerned with their sex role, and to have incorporated the standards of their community. But Piaget has not been able to provide statements explaining how a child passes from the stage of intuitive to concrete operations, or how environmental experiences facilitate or obstruct this passage. Similarly, we have had equal difficulty detailing the mechanisms of how dominant mothers influence the behavioral development of their children. Theories of cognitive and behavioral development lack the tight net of interlocking theoretical propositions that permit satisfying explanations. The constructs of identification, anxiety over loss of love, motives for power, autonomy, mastery, affection, hostility, and sexuality, and standards for sex roles have assumed a heavy burden of explanation in this book. The empirical product of the next two decades will judge the wisdom of these choices and the utility of these ideas. Two conclusions seem reasonably correct--the behavioral profile of the 10 year old is a moderately good predictor of the child's future behavior a decade hence, and the timing of environmental rewards and punishments together with the actions and attributes of the child's models during the first decade are critical influences of behavior during adolescence and early adulthood. The importance attributed to the timing of environmental events makes longitudinal investigations mandatory if we are to reduce our ignorance of the details of development in the first dozen years.

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# CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON LEARNING AND COPING BEHAVIOR

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I have been asked to discuss cultural and sub-cultural influences on child development, and specifically to address myself to the topics: the effects of changing social and technological factors on the family and on children; and the effects of minority group membership--ethnic, social, economic--on the coping behavior of children with regard to developmental tasks. Social scientists do not, of course, have definitive findings on these problems. However, I should like to place before you some of my conclusions about the most pertinent questions to explore, the shape answers to these questions might take and the serious shortcomings of some currently accepted assumptions. These conclusions have grown out of my experience as an anthropologist who has studied, among other things, child-rearing practices and so-called "basic personality" in American Indian and European rural communities, as well as sub-cultural influences on mental health and illness, and on children's school life, in the urban United States. I might add that my "participant observation" of children in city schools through my own experience and that of my four children and their friends has had no small influence on my thinking.

Dr. Kagan has pointed out that psychologists are much hampered in their attempts to talk about children's growth and learning because they are currently without a sound theory of personality and intellectual development. I can add, as a corollary, that anthropologists and social psychologists are also without a sound theory of the relationship between personality and the social environment in which children are reared. The fact that we understand so little may arise in part from the fact that, as social scientists and educators generally, we know so much, but take our knowledge for granted as we use it in the course of our daily lives. You probably would not be at this conference if you were not competent in assessing individual personalities and social situations, and if you did not have considerable insight into the relations between the two--if, for example, you could not generally differentiate between circumstances where situational factors overwhelmingly influence individual behavior, and those where individual idiosyncracies are surmounting a situation. Presumably many of those teachers who succeed where others fail are the ones who have a good sense of the relation between individual behavior and situational context. However, the many efforts to analyze and state abstractly the nature of this relationship, particularly from a historical or developmental point of view, have so far led to partial and conflicting theories, rather than to consensus on a broad theoretical framework within which work can proceed.

Perhaps it is the emotional involvement in that which we would understand which makes it so difficult to clarify concepts. Personal investment in not looking squarely at a truth can be high, for who wants to hold a theory of personality which might lead to a critical view of himself. What mother and father, for instance, want to find out that it may not be that their child simply *is* difficult, but that they have made him that way? In relation to education, what teacher is not relieved by a theory of cultural influences on learning that reassures him or her that children's failures are not a matter of shortcomings in their teaching, but of the families from which the children come? To carry the point further, it is the unusual school system which, when faced with low achievement records for a large proportion of its children, seeks a theory that emphasizes the importance of *school* culture rather than home culture, and places the burden of correcting the situation squarely on its own shoulders.

### Effects on children of changing social and technological conditions

It has become a truism that our rapidly changing society poses enormous problems for children in that it undercuts parental models as valid for the very different world in which the children will be living. Perhaps the case is overdrawn. Even where technology is changing rapidly, a great many cultural norms and practices persist, or shift slowly. Furthermore, tensions between the generations is not new. No culture seems more stable to us than ancient Egypt, yet one finds records of complaint that the youth no longer listen to and respect their elders as they used to, and evidences of the "what-is-the-younger-generation-coming-to" attitude so familiar today.

It is probably not the fact of change itself, but its specific content which is significant, and the fact that technological changes are occurring so much more rapidly than are the social innovations needed to incorporate new technologies meaningfully into an integrated pattern of life. Change itself, after all, is neutral; it can resolve old dilemmas as well as pose new ones. However, specific changes which are apparently creating serious difficulties for young people are: the rapidly intensifying competition for desirable occupational statuses which directly affects even the earliest school years; the increasingly visible and stark dichotomy between ideals and realities; and the swiftly expanding destructive powers of man that now far outstrip mechanisms for insuring social responsibility.

Ever more efficient techniques of farming and manufacturing in the United States have led to the burgeoning of "middle class" occupations, so that far more people are involved in marketing, administration, communication, education, etc., than in basic production. Competition for the higher rungs of the ladder in these occupations, and the security, comfort and status they offer, is great, and its reflection into the school system seems to be growing apace. Occupational status is more and more directly based on formal education--higher degrees are now being given even in movie making and the arts. Public school systems, as formally structured, with better schools in "better" neighborhoods, and poorer schools in low-income neighborhoods, channel their pupils into further schooling--or lack of it--appropriate to one or another position in the middle class occupational hierarchy, or a place out of it altogether. So well established and specific are the resulting educational "tracks" that parents fight against their child being placed in the "middle" or "slow," rather than the "fast" first grade, even of a good school, for fear he will not move along the various stages of the upper track. Some time ago I spoke at a New York City private school parent meeting on the topic, "Pressures on Today's Youth." When I referred to the rigidity of educational channelling and its implications even for first grade children, I was informed that, in this school, it was not just a good college that was the issue, but that from the first grade the sights were set on Harvard.

To go into the economic and social-psychological reasons which can be advanced to explain the heightened competition adults now engage in through their children would carry us far afield from our immediate topic. Certainly the phenomenon is familiar enough to educators who themselves often feel the pressure. The significant point for our discussion is that in the crucial years Dr. Kagan has been describing, when a child is developing a sense of himself in relation to others; when he is trying to assess his own abilities and inabilities; when he is learning standards, rather than responding directly to desires and emotions--at this time he must also shoulder the burden of knowing, sensing, or trying not to know that his ability to compete successfully with his peers in the performance of often rather arbitrary school tasks may influence the whole course of his adult life. To the extent that he withdraws, he is considered either "maladjusted," or not very "bright;" to the extent that poor children, who have minimal possibilities for achieving success in terms of occupational status, withdraw, they are spoken of as lacking in "normal" motivation to succeed, a condition arising from "cultural deprivation." Nor can the latter children escape their difficult dilemma by ignoring the fight for status altogether. A high school education is now necessary for all but the most menial jobs at the bottom of the occupational ladder which do not yield a living wage for a family, and also entail the constant and urgent threat of unemployment. The dilemma posed for educators is profound. Individual children can be helped here and there, but wider and more lasting solutions involve the reversing of trends that have become deeply embedded in our social economic structure and way of life.

At the same time as intensified competition is making itself felt at an ever earlier age, the divergence between realities and socially defined ideals is becoming ever more sharp and apparent. It is a contradiction of our age that the vision of a "united nations" or "one world" has become a realistic possibility (for the entire world has become bound together, willy nilly, as an economic and political whole) at the same time as mankind has acquired the means totally to destroy himself. To the extent that humanistic and social scientific views of changes that may bring about a peaceful cooperative world are expressed by those in power, it is possible to have an optimistic sense of commitment, and to engage in efforts that conquer fear. To the extent that this is not the case, deep-seated and pervasive anxiety pervades, and expresses itself in all manner of ways, individual and social. It is interesting that styles of the 20's are again in vogue, styles from a time when, we are told people danced to avoid a sense of impending doom. There is a difference--the "crash" this time might not allow a future.

It is a further paradox that age-old humanistic ideals have been brought nearer to our grasp at a time when the mass media daily portray their gross denial. With the development of psychology, the philosophical, religious or poetic ideals of dignity, individuality and respect for others have been translated from the realm of distant and almost other-worldly goals to scientifically grounded assertions that self-respect and consideration for others go hand in hand, and that satisfaction and personal fulfillment can and should be achieved by all. Similarly, though with as yet less influence, anthropology has been discovering that the golden rule is more than a dream or a moral injunction, but that it expresses something fundamental about the nature of man. Apparently it was sociability, cooperation, and the possibility of identifying one's interest with those of others that set a clever South African primate on the road to Homo sapiens well over a million years ago.

Science, then, is joining art and philosophy in the conviction that it is more than mere wishful thinking to say that mankind can learn to live at peace with himself, although to do so means collective effort and the abandonment of selfish interest. It was some 30 years ago that Franklin Roosevelt said if the common people of the world had their way, there would be no war. All this is not, however, what our children are taught. The chaos and terror rampant in the world are instead blamed on an "enemy," on a wholly bad "they," either at home or abroad, with whom a wholly good "we" are constantly fighting. However, the "enemy" is no longer abstract, but is now brought directly into a child's life. It may turn out to be an old woman stirring in the bushes, shot to pieces by ten marines; or children helping their mothers and grandparents rebuild the bombed roads and bridges around their villages.

Educators have long been concerned about the myths that obtain in our classrooms. For instance, the problems that a moralistic view of history and political affairs entails for children were discussed at a National Education Association conference of social scientists and educators. The conferees referred to such things as the failure of history as taught in school to deal with partisan issues. "To deprive (the student) of experience with partisan appeal is to prepare him poorly for the choices he will face in society, and to neglect one of the greatest contributions history has to make..." As for political science, children are led to see political authorities as having "only the finest and most wholesome approach," and to conceive of them in the father-role, as "hard-working, benevolent, acting entirely in the collective welfare." Among the manifold consequences of such beliefs are a lack of preparation for the future, and naivete, or total withdrawal and cynicism.[1] Charles Calitri extends the point to include the related goals held out in school for children themselves:

> We defeat them with our assault of honesty, goodness, integrity, bravery, and courage as the qualifications of humanity, setting up for them images of excellence which are impossible of imitation. This we have managed for all youth, not only those who are considered culturally different.
>
> We hold forth such values in almost uncompromising fashion, pretending that these lie behind the precepts which any fine American must follow...We are telling them further that they are not worthy to be in the world as we see it.
>
> This is no exaggeration. Where in the textbooks will a youth have revealed to him the weaknesses of a Washington or the inadequacies of a Lincoln? Where will he find it said that men are not always strong, that there are times which encourage cowardice because the desire to live is stronger than the desire to be heroic at a particular moment in a particular battle? Until what semester must he wait before some teacher will make an acknowledgment that our heroes were also people like Lord Jim or Fleming...
>
> I have no intention of demeaning either our country's heroes or the values of our society and culture... I do intend to point

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[1] National Education Association, The Scholars Look at the Schools, a Report of the Disciplines Seminar Convened at the NEA Center, June 15, 16, 17, 1961. (Washington, D. C. : N.E.A., 1962). pp. 40,42.

out that, if we are to have any success in our educational exchange with youth, then our share must be the honesty of things as they are.[2]

Arthur Vidich and Joseph Bensman studied a small town some years ago, and summarized the modes of adjustment adults used when, in the face of reality, they attempted to preserve the ideals they had learned in childhood. These were: the repression of inconvenient facts; the particularization of such facts--seeing problems as purely individual, rather than as true of social groups; the falsification of memory, and the substitution of new goals for unrealizable ones; the mutual reinforcement of the public ideology--the "silent recognition among members of the community that facts and ideas which are disturbing to the accepted system of illusions are not to be verbalized except, perhaps...in connection with ones enemies;" the learning of conversational formulas that help the avoidance of anything personal or unpleasant; the avoidance of public statements of disenchantment; and the exclusion or ostracizing of the disenchanted.[3]

Vidich and Bensman also describe the reiteration of the dominant ideology on public occasions. Springdale is "a wholesome friendly place," it is emphasized, "the best place to bring up children, and made up of ordinary people, just folks, trying to make their community a better place to live. Nobody here has to worry about having friends, all you have to do is be friendly yourself. No problems are too big for Springdale, it's the outsiders that cause all the trouble. People here have a lot of community spirit, you can always get people to take part..."[4]

[2] Charles J. Calitri, "The Nature and Values of Culturally Different Youth", Improving English Skills of Culturally Different Youth in Large Cities, edited by Arno Jewett, et al. (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, 1964).

[3] Arthur Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in a Mass Society, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1960).

[4] Ibid., pp. 310-311.

In concluding their book, Vidich and Bensman speak of the marked "externalization of the self," achieved through work, social activities, or passive involvement in the mass media. The personality is automized and schedules rigidly adhered to in an attempt to avoid anxiety. Nonetheless considerable generalized anxiety exists. "By techniques of self-avoidance and self-deception, they (the people of Springdale) strive to avoid facing issues which, if recognized, would threaten the total fabric of their personal and social existence."[5]

Vidich and Bensman are describing the alienation from themselves that people experience as they grow from childhood and learn techniques for "getting along" in their society. In a sensitive and compassionate book, Arthur Jersild discusses the resulting anxiety and loneliness experienced by adults and children--or, specifically, by teachers and their students.[6] One can add that the effects on individual children are generally interpreted in terms of "disturbance" or "maladjustment," and attempts by groups of children and adolescents to rebel against the meaninglessness life seems to hold out to them are seen as evidence of "social disorganization." The latter attempts take various forms. Some few youth seek to master an understanding of our political and social problems, and act upon it. More either reject social norms wholesale, and join together in poignant protestations that love and trust should form the basis of society, or try to escape through drugs. Others still express their frustration and bitterness through random destructiveness--visited perhaps upon a suburban home, or on a subway car, or on a school. Educators and social workers are well aware how widespread such evidences of malaise are becoming among children and young people of all social classes.

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[5] Ibid., p. 320.

[6] Arthur T. Jersild, When Teachers Face Themselves (New York: Teachers College Press, 1955).

My discussion of the difficulties children in our society have in learning to cope with reality should not be understood to imply that teachers in elementary school should take it upon themselves to deal in detail with the unpleasant and ugly sides of the world, nor that they should lecture children on political events in a style above their heads. It is rather that they should not stifle the children's search for meanings by glossing over issues with platitudes that assert the total "rightness" of the same middle-class American norms which children are testing out or rebelling against.

In the process of observing classrooms, I have watched teachers cut short discussion of controversial news clippings brought in by children for Current Events with a curt, "We do not talk about things like that," or "We discuss current events, not politics." This type of censorship often permeates all but the most mundane areas. I have watched teachers brush aside Negro children's questions about slavery in a discussion of the Civil War, or quickly bypass a child's desire to talk about the death of a pet salamander. Unfortunately, teachers are made to feel it their responsibility to have answers even where there may be none. They are fearful of children's probing questions, and avoid opening up an honest search for definitions of issues, or explorations of meanings. It is not that everything need be left open-ended and unsettled. In the case of substantive matters it is clear that children should be acquainted with, or led to the answers, with the teacher as a source of pertinent information. However, there is often a failure to draw the line between questions where we have answers and those where we do not; and between objective knowledge, and subjective meanings, feeling or commitments. So often the distinction is not made between clarifying an issue, and telling or implying how the children should feel about it. Commonly there is the assumption that all problems have clear solutions; that the teacher knows these solutions; that the children who do not accept them are wrong or stupid.

Jersild discusses the difficulty for children of having to hide their feelings and keep up a "pretense that all is well,"[7] and he decrys the failure in education to move "beyond the facade of facts, subject matter, logic, and reason behind which human motives and a person's real struggles and strivings are often concealed."[8] History, he writes, "can be an intensely meaningful experience, for history is filled with the substance of human hopes and fears: man's struggles, his pride, his shame, his courage, his joy."[9] And should English be taught in such a way as "to avoid the risk of stirring people up?"

> Should the teacher of English...in sharing a poem or a novel filled with hate or passion or tears, avoid these emotions because they might evoke a resonance of feeling in this or that member of the class? Should he blunt the impact, strip out the passion, dry up the tears? Should he water things down so no one will feel anything? If the answer is Yes, then why teach poetry, drama, or fiction?[10]

If the answer is No, he goes on to say, then "why not try for the fullest impact and the deepest possible significance?" What the significance may be for different children will be revealed by their questions, if they feel free to raise them and know they will be respected. Certainly, no teacher or student should be burdened by the need to pretend he has or should have all the answers. Humanity's history is the search for answers to ever new questions, and solutions to ever new problems.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 68-70.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

## The Influence of Cultural Variations on Personality

For some four decades the "personality and culture" school of anthropology has been concerned with the problem: what kinds of generalizations can we make about the effects of different cultures on children and adults? Or, placed another way; how much that we know about children is true of children everywhere, and how much is the result of the way children are raised in our society? Dr. Kagan, you may have noticed, carefully referred to children of European and United States backgrounds in his discussion. A further question has become of great interest in recent years: what is the significance of the sub-cultural variations that are found in our society, which group people by economic class, race, nationality, and occupational status? I shall return to this question after some general remarks about where work in "personality and culture" stands today.

The central point made by Ruth Benedict in Patterns of Culture, the major early work in the personality and culture area, was that cultures do not draw equally upon the wide arc of potential human behavior and attitudes. Instead cultures select different aspects of behavior for particular emphasis, and shape this behavior in different ways. As a corollary to this point, Benedict demonstrated that what we often consider to be "human nature," is in fact our particular "social nature," specific to our culture. Our way of life, therefore, is but one of many possible ways, and it does not follow from "the way people are:" instead the way they are--in our society--follows in major part from the way our culture is patterned.

The work of Benedict and others led to the definition of basic questions; it did not answer them. Benedict described the close relation between culture and personality but the precise nature of this relation remained vague. In an article reviewing work on the subject, Inkeles and Levinson write that Benedict "did not make a clear conceptual distinction between the sociocultural system and the personality as a system, but rather appears to have assumed that the psychological coherence of the individual personality was isomorphic with the psychological coherence of the culture."[11] In other words, she assumed some kind of "matching" between the personality of individuals and the pattern of a culture without being explicit about the source of either.

Hypotheses about the relation between personality and culture by such people as Abram Kardiner and Ralph Linton, a psychiatrist-anthropologist team, and John Whiting and Irvin Child, an anthropologist-psychologist team, stressed early childhood training as central. The assumptions made by these researchers were that strains for the individual, following from dominant child-training practices, lead to the development of compensatory institutionalized beliefs and practices, which in turn reinforce patterns of training.[12] This is necessarily a somewhat over-simplified statement, but the formulations did involve a "closed circle" type of relationship, with child-training practices leading to cultural forms which lead back to child-training practices. Historical change, economic and technological development, contradictions within a given culture, individual variability, group deviations--these remained external to the system.

The same "closed-circle" approach is in general characteristic of Oscar Lewis' work on the "culture of poverty." Lewis sees poverty as producing a style of life which perpetuates itself independent of the economic and political causes of the poverty. "The culture of poverty...is not only an adaptation to a set of objective conditions of the larger society," Lewis writes. Once established, it "tends to perpetuate itself from generation to generation because of its effect on the children." Its effect is so strong, Lewis asserts, that by the time "slum children" are six or seven, they have "absorbed the basic values and attitudes of their subculture and are not psychologically geared to take full advantage of changing conditions or increased opportunities which may occur in their lifetime."[13] The hypothesis that a person is essentially "determined" by his culture at the age of six is also implied by the work of certain other scholars. The results are unfortunate. At a time when social and cultural factors rather than physical and racial characters are becoming widely accepted by teachers and others as the basic determinants of group variations in behavior, assumptions about a certain finality of early cultural influences on the individual enable racial sterotypes to persist, although phrased in cultural terms. It is important, in this regard, to stress that the hypothesis is far from proven, as attested by Dr. Kagan's discussion of the dramatic changes that occur in children in the elementary school years after the age of six.[14]

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[11] Alex Inkeles and Daniel J. Levinson, "National Character: The Study of Modal Personality and Sociocultural Systems", in Handbook of Social Psychology, edited by Gardner Lindzey (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1964). p. 977.

[12] Abram Kardiner, The Individual and His Society, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939): The Psychological Frontiers of Society, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945). John W. M. Whiting and Irvin L. Child, Child Training and Personality, A Cross-Cultural Study, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953).

Lewis' work is popularly written and well-known, but contemporary research in personality and culture has in fact largely shifted from the emphasis on a "wholistic" matching of personality with culture to a focus on discreet areas of individual behavior and specific mechanisms of interaction with cultural influences. The author of a relatively recent book on the subject, Anthony Wallace, writes that the "old" personality and culture studies drew from the "psychology of personality and clinical psychology...eked out with stimulus-response learning

[13] Oscar Lewis, La Vida, (New York, Random House, 1965). p. xlv

[14] In relation to this, the results of research on the Head Start program that stresses the importance of early training are interesting. In four kindergartens, Head Start children were indeed better prepared than non-Head Start children at the beginning of the school year. Yet their supportive and highly individualized experience had unsuited them for some of the realities of school life. In good kindergarten situations they did better, but in poor kindergarten situations worse, than non-Head Start children. Max Wolff and Annie Stein, Six Months Later, a comparison of children who had Head Start, Summer 1965, with their classmates in kindergarten (New York: Yeshiva University, 1966, Mimeographed.

theory...and with Gestalt theories of perception."[15] It drew heavily upon early Freudian and neo-Freudian psychoanalytic theory which emphasized the unconscious, and the relation between instinct and defense mechanisms, but was little concerned with the conscious ego. By contrast the "new personality and culture" shows a

> mounting interest in cognitive process, in several of the aspects which psychologists (and linguists) have exploited: formal semantic analysis, cognitive mapping, computer simulation, psycholinguistics, communications and systems theory, and learning theory which deals directly with the cognitive variables intervening between stimulus and response.[16]

Along with a more direct concern with cognitive processes, there is also increasing attention to the total personality and the ego.

The "old" personality and culture, Wallace continues, "generally emphasized a uniformitarian viewpoint." The search was for shared traits, common to all members of a group except "deviants," and for characteristics which differentiate members of one group from those in another. By contrast, scholars are now engaging in less ambitious but more detailed studies of specific group attributes such as friendship patterns, sex roles, or concepts of disease. In place of an assumption that certain institutions have come into being or continue because they resolve or reduce emotional conflicts resulting from family forms of organization and child rearing practices, there is the awareness that such psychological functions of an institution are often secondary to "their utility in achieving 'realistic'...goals of an economic, political, domestic, etc., nature." Wallace cites as an example the fact that, while "prejudicial attitudes toward a minority group may satisfy unconscious 'neurotic' needs:... the motives which led to the establishment and maintenance of the prejudicial institutions may nevertheless have been, and be still, principally economic." To recognize that the psychological consequences or functions of an institution do not necessarily explain its origin is important, Wallace explains. Assumptions of psychological causes for institutions imply virtual psychological uniformity, while an acceptance of social-economic determinants enables one to replace an insistence on motivational uniformity among members of a culture "as a mechanism for the organization of a diversity of individual motivations and cognitions." In fact, Wallace points out, the "magnitude of individual psychological differences within cultural boundaries" is so large that "the analytical problem would appear to be the elucidation of the processes of the organization of diversity rather than the mechanisms of inducing a supposed uniformity."[17]

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[15] Anthony F. C. Wallace, "The New Culture-and-Personality", Anthropology and Human Behavior, (Washington, D. C.: The Anthropological Society of Washington, 1962), p. 4.

[16] Ibid., p. 6.

The distinctions between the "older" and "newer" views are clearly of central importance for educators concerned with cultural influences on children's abilities and motivations. In this respect, the implications of Lewis' view for what schools can offer to poor children is a pessimistic one. Defining the "culture of poverty," he writes:

> On the level of the individual the major characteristics are a strong feeling of marginality, of helplessness, of dependence, and of inferiority...a high incidence of maternal deprivation, of orality, of weak ego structure, confusion of sexual identification, a lack of impulse control, a strong present-time orientation with relatively little ability to defer gratification and to plan for the future, a sense of

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[17] Ibid., pp. 5-7. (My underlining, E.L.)

> resignation and fatalism, a widespread belief in male superiority and a high tolerance for psychological pathology of all sorts.[18]

Some of the same characteristics, especially a sense of resignation and fatalism, and inability to defer gratification and plan for the future, have been linked by other researchers with low educational motivation, and cited as the explanation for poor school achievement records among lower class children. On the face of it, the general picture has seemed persuasive to many who have worked with poor children, and this or similar notions of a self-perpetuating "culture of poverty" as responsible for poor achievement levels among them, are widely held. However, like the hypothesis to which they relate, that the determination of personality by culture is early and irreversible, they remain no more than unproven assumptions. Patricia Sexton quotes a recent statement by the psychologist Benjamin Bloom, that "the power of early learning must still, for humans, remain largely an inference from theory," and she continues:

> Persuasive longitudinal studies on the effect of preschool education on later performance are lacking and some contrary evidence points to the repeated finding that the "deprived" enter kindergarten at the intellectual equal of other children but regress steadily as they continue in school, starting in about the third or fourth grade. This would tend to indicate that the problem is in the school rather than the preschool years spent at home.[19]

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[18] Lewis, op. cit., pp. xlvii-xlviii

[19] Patricia Cayo Sexton, The American School, A Sociological Analysis,(Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 61.

Also, one might add, in the interdependent and on-going relation between school experience for children and their experience in the larger society.

Three questions about the "culture of poverty" definitions, as they stand, remain unanswered: 1) To what extent are the presumed qualities of the "culturally deprived" actual personality characteristics, and to what extent skewed interpretations based on unstated assumptions made by the researcher about what he thinks he (or other "middle class" people like him) would say or how he thinks he would act in a given situation; 2) in so far as his interpretations may be correct, to what extent does the behavior being interpreted follow from built-in "personality traits," and to what extent is simply a "reasonable" response to on-going, repeated experiences, a response, let us say, that the researcher himself might well adopt after having been placed in similar positions for a while; and 3) how representative are the data on which assumptions are based, both in relation to the totality of an individual's behavior, and to the variations in life style that exist among poor people generally.

Dichotomizing between "built-in personality" and "behavior in response to experiences" is treading on delicate ground. Probably no student of human behavior today would disagree that it is through the latter, the responsive behavior, that an enormous part, if not most (and some would say the vastly larger part) of the former, the personality, is developed as a child grows from infancy. Few would argue that the mixture of culturally patterned and idiosyncratic ways of thinking about and relating to people, things, and themselves, which children learn as they grow up, become increasingly well established over time and increasingly more difficult to change. One might think of personality potential at birth as the base of a triangle, with the sides closing towards an apex as the "personality" becomes set and the potential narrowed. The argument, being raised here involves the slope of the triangle, whether short, with the potential closing in early, so to speak, or whether tall and staying somewhat open. Partly because there is no consensus about the precise meaning of "personality" in the first place, and partly because there have been so few systematic studies of individuals over time and under different circumstances, the shape of the triangle, is not known. What has here been questioned, however, is that it is as short as implied by some of the older "personality and culture" views from which the "culture of poverty" concept has grown.

The literature on the "culture of poverty" is growing apace, yet it is based on a paucity of hard core data, and the constantly proliferating reinterpretations of previous interpretations lend themselves to stereotyping. Most of the primary data on the culture of poverty are derived from formal questionnaires constructed along the lines of psychological tests, which, when not validated by behavioral studies, can at best no more than indicate possible fruitful areas for further research. Many other data are drawn from interviews with atypical populations, and the interviews are conducted in a social-worker-to-client type of setting, with a minimum of "participant observational" data on ranges of behavior and related attitudes. Some researchers state that their findings apply only to the poorest and most demoralized layers of society; others would apply them more broadly. In reviews and secondary sources, however, the tendency has been to project culture of poverty characterizations onto all children who are not solidly "middle class." The unfortunate result has been that the culture concept, potentially so valuable for enabling one to look behind patterned differences in behavior and find "real" children, has yielded stereotypes behind which the individuality of children whose families are poor is being lost.

In a project with the purpose of helping educators relate to children of Mexican American and other minority parents, Ruth Landes stressed the search to understand the *meanings* of children's behavior, in context, rather than making *a priori* assumptions about them as usually implied by the term *values*.

The first problem was for educators to identify practices, she states in her book, then, rather than jumping to conclusions, to work through the "obfuscations of ignorance and prejudicial stereotypes" to decipher them, and then to use them to advantage. Landes continues:

> Educators were led to postpone asking why a behavior occurs until after they could answer operational questions of how, when, where, and through whom the behavior occurs, and toward what ends. This is because when asked initially, why often begs issues with stereotypes.[20]

As an example of the need for interpreting meanings in the context of actual incidents and situations, take the characterization of "resignation" and "fatalism." "Many lower class individuals feel that their lives are subject to a set of forces over which they have relatively little control," Walter Miller writes.[21] The fact of the matter is, of course, that the lives of all of us are, although some state the point in sociological terms, rather than in religious or other terms. Middle-class people, with more money and security, clearly do, however, have greater control over the course of their individual lives than do the poor, and, as part of their effort to maintain this control, may assert even more than they have. Poor people will more commonly (and often bitterly) answer questionnaires in terms like "what can you do, when things are against you, they are against you." But what does this mean? That the "powerlessness" of the poor is tremendously undermining, psychologically as well as objectively, has been demonstrated.[22] But what about differences among individuals? And what about the same people under different circumstances?

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[20] Ruth Landes, Culture in American Education, Anthropological Approaches to Minority and Dominant Groups in the Schools, London: (John Wiley and Sons, 1965). pp. 285, 287.

[21] Walter B. Miller, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency", The Journal of Social Issues, Vol. XIV, No. 3, 1958. p. 11.

In a study of Negro high school youth, some from extremely poor homes, conducted during a school boycott, a more rounded picture of their total personal potential emerged, and they expressed feelings of great exhilaration resulting from doing something together that might improve the school situation they found so demoralizing.[23] Unfortunately, we do not have other studies of poor people boycotting, protesting, or in other ways trying to influence the course of their lives, studies which would offset the one-sided picture of the "culture of poverty" that presently obtains.[24] Another possibility would be interviewing people during the course of a strike. Different light would be thrown on the dimension, "inability to delay gratification and plan for the future", than that gained from questions about planning for children's college attendance, or about saving money which scarcely exists. There is a certain irony in the judgment that the poor seek only immediate satisfactions when they in fact may have to forgo throughout their entire lives the gratifications that the researcher who is studying them takes for granted and enjoys every day. In any case, a decision to strike and leave their jobs in the hopes of better salaries and other gains in the future is a more extreme form of delaying gratification and planning than most middle class people are called upon to make. Nor are such decisions limited to the more skilled factory workers who have the backing of a union treasury, as attested by the recent strikes among Mexican-American migratory workers, the poorest of the poor. To carry the point further, when one moves from studies of

[22] Patricia Sexton, op. cit., p. 62.

[23] Estelle Fuchs, Pickets at the Gates (New York, Macmillan-Free Press, 1966).

[24] Although Oscar Lewis notes that there has been a change of mood among the poor in a Cuban urban slum. Although still poor, they have a new sense of optimism and ability to control their futures. La Vida, p. xlix

selected individuals to a consideration of contemporary history, one is struck by the obvious fact that the "culture of poverty" characterization, as it stands, can in no way account for the widespread involvement across the country of the Negro poor in efforts to improve their situation legally, economically and socially. The characterization may seem to have fitted the hard-to-reach and seemingly uninterested children and parents that teachers knew; it does not fit the insistence, assertiveness, and anger they may now be meeting.

In sum, the personality and culture approach as applied to an understanding of the poor has suffered from an early emphasis on defining the major characteristics that set off one group from another, which has resulted in a distorted and one-sided picture of predominant behavioral responses in certain kinds of situations. It has not done justice to conflicting potentials, and to different possibilities, both among individuals and in the same individual in changing situations. As a result, recent personality and culture studies concerned with education have increasingly taken two different directions. The first is more traditionally anthropological, and involves collecting cross-cultural data on educational experiences for children.[25] The second involves the interdisciplinary collaboration of psychology and anthropology in cross-culture studies of motivation, conceptualization, and cognition, with the intent of developing specific and limited hypotheses about some of the relations between culture and personality.

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[25] As evidenced by the new series edited by George and Louise Spindler, Case Studies in Education and Culture, published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

## Language, Culture and Cognitive Style

Since formal education as we know it so largely involves the acquisition of verbal skills, the study of speech patterns and their relation to thought processes is receiving increasing attention. Some decades ago, the anthropological linguist, Edward Sapir, was interested in the hypothesis later elaborated upon by Benjamin Lee Whorf, that our perception of reality is screened by the words our language makes available and by the way they are related in phrases and sentences. Put another way, the assumption is that people select from and think about the infinitely varied things and events they experience according to traditional categories supplied by the terminology and structure of the particular language they use. The many words the Eskimo use for snow are commonly cited as a case where English, with its highly elaborated technological vocabulary, would be deficient for meeting the needs of another culture. It is essential that a young Eskimo learn to recognize the snow which is unsafe to travel over, that which can be melted down for drinking water, or that which is suitable for house building, and so forth. The many words available in his language presumably help sensitize him to these significant characteristics of his environment; they help him define and order what would otherwise be random perceptions of variations in snow. A more subtle example of the influence of terminologies on perception was given by Dr. Kagan when he pointed out that what we name an emotion is important for how we behave--it helps define the situation for us.

Understanding is also influenced by the semantic "loading" of words, the connotations that they come to have. For example, considerable value content commonly accrues to political labels, which are often used loosely to imply something "good" or "bad" rather than to refer to precise and objectively defined positions or forms of political organization. Another example of semantics is afforded by the terms "mind" or "spirit" which we automatically contrast with "body" or "matter." The opposition between the two is so deeply embedded in our intellectual traditions that we have troûble discussing "psychosomatic" medicine, which assumes their fundamental interdependence. We popularly say of psychosomatic illnesses, where the interaction of the "psyche" and "soma" or mind and body are most clearly evidenced, "it's all psychological." The erroneous implication is that such illnesses can be prevented or cured by simple acts of conscious will.

The most pervasive and intricate level at which it is assumed language influences understanding is that of linguistic morphology, or the construction of words and sentences. As an example of how word structure may affect thinking about processes and relationships, Whorf cites the fact that in English and related languages we refer to "wind," "cloud," and "rain," as things. By contrast, to the Hopi Indians of the Southwest, they are not nouns, but are verbs, or processes. Whorf makes it clear that, although languages spoken by technologically advanced cultures have a highly developed technical vocabulary, they are not necessarily "superior" in their formulation of casual relations. As an example, he points to the grammatical construction of Hopi which differentiates between two types of perceiving which English and other Indo-European languages equate. In English, we say, "I see that it is red," and "I see that it is new," thereby using "two quite different types of relationships into a vague sort of connection expressed by 'that.'" The Hopi language, on the other hand, "indicates that in the first case seeing presents a sensation 'red,' and in the second that seeing presents unspecified evidence from which is drawn the inference of newness." In this instance, Whorf writes, English compared with Hopi

> is like a bludgeon compared with a rapier. We even have to think and boggle over the question for some time, or have it explained to us, before we can see the difference in relationships expressed by "that" in the above examples, whereas the Hopi discriminates these relationships with

effortless ease, for the forms of speech have accustomed him to doing so.[26]

Whorf's work is extremely insightful and suggestive, but the question he raises remains unanswered: how deep seated, in fact, _is_ the influence of linguistic differences on the thought of the people he is discussing? In the cases cited above, we can readily see that different linguistic usages can make certain perceptions and causal assumptions either simpler and more automatic, or somewhat more difficult. In each case, however, once the conceptual implications embedded in verbal or grammatical constructions are made clear, we can consciously shift our thinking. Furthermore, one can point to the performance in American schools and colleges of students whose mother tongues were not Indo-European, but who first spoke Japanese, Chinese, Hungarian, and so forth, as suggesting that people reared with one style of linguistic usage can readily handle concepts possibly embedded in another. No one questions that language in _general_--the ability to symbolize which characterizes human beings--is inseparably linked with human thought. However, the relation between _specific_ languages and thought on more than a relatively superficial level is another matter.

The question of language and thought has become an important one for educators, since one body of current theory holds that characteristic differences in the handling of English by children from middle, as compared with low, income backgrounds increases the ability of the former to conceptualize. That middle class children come to school better prepared to handle the language skills which are part and parcel of education is clear. It hardly needs repeating that the greater possibility for and attention to formal language training in the early years, the greater number of books, magazines, hobbies and educational games found in financially secure homes provide a background for schooling upon which most teachers find they can readily build. However, some social scientists, among whom the British psychologist Basil Bernstein is the best known, are raising a further point, i.e. that the structure of working class language usage differs from that of the middle class in ways that hinder the ability of children to conceptualize. Bernstein differentiates between an "elaborated" language code, with more precise definition of concepts and relationships, and a "restricted" code "epitomized by a low level and limiting syntactic organization." The elaborated code would be exemplified by the formal style used in a paper such as the one I am now giving, and the restricted code by the kind of shorthand employed between familiars speaking about well known personal matters. Bernstein assumes both codes to be generally available to middle class children but only the restricted to be used by most working class children. He sees school failure for the latter to be "closely related to the control on types of learning induced by a restricted code."[27] His hypothesis, however, remains unproved. The question remains, while linguistic training prepares middle class children more readily for formal education as it presently stands, does it really prepare them better to think? Writing of Bernstein's theory, Vera John states:

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[26] Benjamin Lee Whorf, Language, Thought and Reality (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1956). pp. 84-85.

> There is little justification in equating any form of overt language with the process of conceptualization. We are, as yet, profoundly ignorant about the precise characteristics of conceptual language (both in its overt forms, when appearing spontaneously in the context of everyday problem-solving, or in its covert forms, the process...called "inner speech.")

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[27] Basil Bernstein, "Elaborated and Restricted Codes: Their Social Origins and Some Consequences," The Ethnography of Communication, American Anthropologist, Vol. 66, December, 1964, pp. 55-69.

John goes on to refer to the flow of language which was taped in a study of two adults "thinking aloud" in settings where new problems were being encountered. Their utterances were preponderantly sentence fragments, which, she writes, is actually "in line with the concept of a telegraphic inner speech suggested by some theorists."[28]

In spite of the inconclusiveness of basic research into relations between language and thought, it is not uncommon to find statements in educational literature like, "working men...tend to think in the concrete rather than the abstract and they find little meaning in verbal symbols."[29] This particular statement is based on a misunderstanding of the fact that words are themselves symbols and that all but mentally defective human beings find great meaning in them. However, it follows from a common type of psychological study which, for example, shows that middle class children respond to picture cards of a cat, a dog, a cow, etc., with the word "animal," while working class children more often respond with statements like "They all have four legs." The first answer is considered "abstract," since the categorical word is used, the second "concrete" since an explicitly descriptive generalization is employed. Unquestionably the first answer is "correct" as a classroom response. What is missed in the analysis, however, is that the second answer follows from abstracting a feature common to all the objects. It is, in fact, closer to what is called in science an "operational" definition; and such definitions are sought as a prelude to finding out what something actually is in terms of how it functions. Knowing a right word may or may not entail mastering a concept. To test the conceptual skill of the middle class child one would have to follow up his answer with, "What is an animal?" Instead a value judgment is placed on the answer, "animal," and it is considered ipso facto at a high conceptual level.

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[28] Vera P. John, "The Basil Bernstein Fad: A Critical Look at Theories of Language and Educability," Paper presented at the meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Pittsburgh, November, 1966. Yeshiva University, New York, mimeographed. pp. 9-10.

[29] Grace Graham, The Public School in the American Community, (New York: Harper & Row, 1963) pp. 317-318.

A similar interpretation is too often put upon idiomatic slang as compared with "standard" or formal English. A free flow of idiomatic speech from a working class child is generally met with a rebuke, like "Stand straight when you talk and do not say ain't." The content of the statement is ignored, and the usage of a technically adequate but socially unacceptable negative is implicitly equated with inability to learn. Words which have found their way from the Negro idiom into informal English, like "cool," "square," and "hep," are ruled out in the classroom, although they are every bit as meaningful, and as "abstract" or "symbolic" as acceptable synonyms like "sanguine," "naive," and "sophisticated." Indeed the constant output of new words from the Negro community shows a high level of "abstracting" ability and the "poetry" so common to the Negro idiom involves the very essence of abstraction. A Negro from rural Mississippi, who had received virtually no formal education in his life, recently characterized to me the position of his people by saying, "They clip your wings and tell you to fly." The terms are "concrete," but the metaphor is highly abstract.

Educators are becoming concerned with how to build learning upon working class linguistic usages, while at the same time dealing with the fact that formal educational advancement requires proficiency in standard English. The learning of standard English seems to be a successful solution. It does not penalize children who use "slang," for they are allowed to discuss classroom materials in their own words, and the teaching of formal English is separated from the rest of their learning process.[30]

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[30] Perhaps it should be stated that a ban upon swearing in the classroom is a separate matter; most children mean to transgress when they swear in school, know they are transgressing, and expect to be reprimanded.

Some creative educators have experimented with giving poor children even freer rein to explore the potentials both of their language and their out-of-school experiences, and the results have been rewarding. Janet Castro, a speech teacher, began to collect the ditties used in street games from working class Negro pupils, and found a wealth of material that grew into a school play and also formed a basis upon which other aspects of the curriculum could be built. Castro also found an enormous respect and feeling for language on the part of the children, who were most insistent that their songs be written accurately, with no revisions. As an example of the children's sophistication in playing on words, Castro describes an improvisation of "Hansel and Gretel" by some of the same children. She writes:

> I asked the children what they might find in the gingerbread house to show that a bad witch lived there. A number of imaginative suggestions were forthcoming, among them a recipe book entitled, "How to Cook Children." When the time came to act out, one girl said, "Oh, look, there's a book that says, 'How to Cook Chitterlings' - oh, no, it doesn't say that, it says 'How to Cook Children'." The children are just as stimulated by this kind of language perception as I am. They are using language in another dimension - their own experience has been involved in something other than their own experience.
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> Isn't this, after all, the essence of language and thought in action?[31]

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[31] Janet Castro, "The Untapped Verbal Fluency of Negro School Children as Observed through Participant Observation," New York City Education, Vol. I, No. 2, Spring, 1968 (New York: Office of Educational Publications)

See also Bureau for Speech Improvement and Bureau of Curriculum Research, A Guide to Teaching Speech Grades I & II, Forthcoming. (131 Livingston Street, Brooklyn: Bureau of Curriculum Research)

Herbert Kohl, an elementary school teacher in East Harlem, met a parallel experience when he dropped a stilted and superficial lesson plan on "How We Became Modern Americans" and encouraged the children to write of their blocks, their lives, their experiences and concerns. Once their suspicion was allayed, the children wrote and wrote. "Everything I'd been told about the children's language was irrelevant," Kohl states, and continues:

> Yes, they were hip when they spoke, inarticulate and concrete. But their writing was something else, when they felt that no white man was judging their words, threatening their confidence and pride...Recently I have mentioned this to teachers who have accepted the current analyses of "the language" of the "disadvantaged." They asked their children to write and have been as surprised as I was, and shocked by the obvious fact that "disadvantaged" children will not speak in class because they cannot trust their audience.[32]

From the questions raised by the children's writings Kohl was able to build far more sophisticated and meaningful lessons than his plan had called for. He also found he had unloosed a flood of interest in language itself, and he was challenged to confront probing questions from the children: "Where do words come from anyway?" "Why are there good words and bad words?" "Why aren't you supposed to use some words in class?" "Why can't you change words as you like?"

Kohl mentions his subsequent discovery that many teachers, independently of each other, had been exploring literature and language in this way, with all kinds of pupils, and with equally dramatic results. What these teachers shared, Kohl writes, was the interest in listening to children and "the ability to respond as honestly as possible, no matter how painful it may be to...teacherly prides and preconceptions." He states, "We have allowed ourselves to learn from our pupils and to expect the unexpected."

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[32] Herbert Kohl, "Children Writing: The Story of an Experiment," The New York Review of Books, November 17, 1966, p. 27.

Marianne Wolman, another teacher, read poetry to an unresponsive class of Mexican Americans trying to interest them. She met considerable resistance, and it was only after real persistence that she succeeded in getting the children themselves to write. The following poem: "To Die," was written by a boy with an IQ of 75, and rank 0 percentile on the Cooperative English Test:

> The Bars were cold, the man looked dry
> He saw the sun, and then he knew
> The time was near for him to die.
>
> He heard the clock strike six,
> And then he saw, the hangman's knot,
> He heard the men throw sticks.
> And see him die and be a man no more.
>
> To Hell, then forever more!
>
> I have no riches
> I died a debtor
> I died free-hearted
> And that was better.[33]

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[33] Marianne Wolman, "Cultural Factors and Creativity," in Staten W. Webster, ed., The Disadvantaged Learner, Knowing, Understanding, Educating (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1966) pp. 324-325.

## The Study of Contrasting School Environments

It seems that the same point applies to the influence of sub-cultural variations in language usage on educational performance as applies to other sub-cultural differences: they themselves are not as directly operative as the theories of attitudes, prejudices, and misconceptions that surround them. Some of the mechanisms through which these attitudes or "values" operate to undermine educational performance became apparent in the course of a study I conducted comparing elementary school classrooms in four urban neighborhoods, low-income Negro, low-income white, middle-income Negro and middle-income white.[34] Ongoing classroom life was recorded, and teachers and students interviewed in a second and fifth grade in each school. Initially the research team assumed that differences in performance levels of middle- and lower-income children would be attributable not only to demographically defined inequities in the schools, but also to a "clash" of "values." It was assumed that the "middle class" character of the school would find a ready response from middle class children, but would create difficulties for poor white and Negro children. As the study progressed, however, it became apparent that this was an oversimplification of the case, and that the school was not a unified institution which meets all children equally. Therefore an alternative hypothesis developed which was more in accord with the data. It can be stated as follows:

> The school, as the socializing institution second only to the family in our society, differentiates in its treatment of children according to the position of their parents in the social status system. This differentiation is such that the school takes an active part (although on the whole it is not a conscious one) in defining an "outsider" role for poor children.

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[34] The study was conducted as part of the Schools and Mental Health Project, of the Bank Street College of Education, New York City, a Project supported by the National Institute of Mental Health, Education and Welfare. The report is being published by Basic Books.

There is nothing particularly new about this assumption which has been implied by any number of books, the most recent and dramatic of which is Jonathan Kozol's Death At An Early Age. However, the detailed comparative study of classroom life in four relatively "good" schools afforded the possibility of analyzing the social-psychological processes whereby reasonably capable, responsible, and well-meaning teachers fell into the dominant social pattern of downgrading and undermining the confidence of low-status children, a pattern at odds with their own desires to be successful in their work. As might be expected, the pattern was most marked in the low-income Negro school, and less so in the low-income white and middle-income Negro schools. Critics of the educational system as a whole, such as John Holt, author of How Children Fail and How Children Learn, might be quick to point out that the confidence of children in all social groups is undermined by contemporary teaching methods. I would not wish to debate the point, but would qualify it: in the case of middle class children, there is no doubt that their anxiety spurs them toward achievement to a much greater degree than is the case with lower class children. The latter come to school less well prepared, but also they are treated differently after they get there, not only in degree, but also in kind.

Teachers and school administrators are necessarily sensitive to parental attitudes. They are aware that they must be careful about stepping on the toes of "pushy" parents who happen to be of sufficiently high social status to have influence in their communities. On the whole, however, they are unaware of the subtlety and pervasiveness of status-influenced behavior, and the relative disdain or lack of respect they often convey to parents of low social standing. Nor is this necessarily less true when they themselves have come from a working class family. Instead, they may feel a need to assert their achieved status and maintain a distance between themselves and those they have left behind. Teachers are able to empathize to a greater extent with middle class children--or at least they feel the need to maintain a better front of so doing. They are prepared to take a more individualized approach, to be aware of children's specific difficulties, such as an overanxious parent trying to push a child beyond the limit of his abilities, a markedly egocentric and rejecting parent, a new sibling and attendant insecurity, etc. This is less true where children of lower socioeconomic status are concerned. A greater distance is maintained, and the children are to a greater extent lumped into a general category of "difficult," "problems," "unreachable." This is the more true if they are Negro. Straight race prejudice may also operate, but status-related behavior is more subtle. In sum, teachers are not as sensitive to low status children as individuals, do not feel the same respect for them, and are not as prepared to listen to them; not so much because they have "lower class values," as because they are lower class.

The influence of this social attitude on the schools is first evidenced by the fact that poor children, Negro children, and other minority group children simply do not appear in texts and materials. Attempts to rectify this situation, while salutory, have hardly gone very far. Therefore, in using school materials, low-status children are being asked, not so much to identify with "middle class values" as to accept the denial of their very existence. Not only do they not exist in texts, but they are also absent from classroom walls. With very few exceptions, the poster-type materials made available by public relations offices of businesses and other institutions and used by teachers to decorate the classroom and inform the students about safety, hygiene, diet, etc., still portray only fair-skinned children in comfortable suburban settings. Teachers, with few exceptions, fall into the same pattern as they select clippings from magazines and other sources to bring into the school room. Since it is things considered worthy that are put on classroom walls--examples of good work, important information, models for behavior, etc.--the message, scarcely noticed by those who are responsible, is unmistakable for low status children: they are worthless. In the course of the research project mentioned above, we observed the way a teacher, perfectly well-meaning, unwittingly underlined this message for her low-income Negro students. In place of the usual list of classroom monitors and officers there was a list of the children receiving free lunch (for which, in this area, only the poorest were qualified).

Through observations and comparisons of teaching methods in eight classrooms which varied by income and color, we noted additional ways in which the implication of their social worthlessness was subtly and unconsciously conveyed to low status children through teaching and classroom management techniques. Their absence from school-related materials was reinforced by the fact that their out-of-school experiences were not treated with the same consideration nor incorporated to the same degree into classroom discussions. For example, during a lesson on transportation in the low-income all Negro second grade that we observed, a boy raised his hand and eagerly and at length volunteered information about the various airplanes he had seen landing and taking off at an airport. In other classrooms we observed, the teacher would have commented approvingly, asked for similar experiences, listed the airplanes mentioned on the board, or the like. In this case, however, instead of recognizing the content of the child's discussion, the teacher gave way to her own curiousity about how the child got to the airport. "Who took you?" she asked. The boy answered, "Day Care," and this closed the incident. Shortly thereafter the teacher became involved in an inappropriate argument with a girl who spoke of going to the train station to see her father off on a trip. The teacher insisted it was the child's uncle, not her father, and when the child stopped arguing, confused and upset, the subject was dropped.

The closure to the episode is significant for an understanding of communication difficulties in such classrooms. The teacher ended the discussion by telling the children, "You know, I've never been on an airplane." She paused a moment to let the effect of her remark sink in and continued. "What is something Mrs. Smith (referring to herself in the third person) is going to do soon?" There was no response at all from the class. When meeting such a negative reaction from Negro youngsters teachers often frustratedly interpret it as the children's lack of motivation, their "lower class values." What this episode indicated instead was that *the children were responding to the teacher with the same lack of respect for the content of her remark as she had been showing to theirs*. In other classrooms, white or middle class, where we observed the teachers express either real or feigned interest in what the children had to say, the children were eager to respond with parallel interest.

Another way in which the research team observed teachers differentiating in their treatment of middle, as compared with low, status children pertained to their organization of the classroom and allocation of responsibilities. Again, the situation was most adverse for the low-income Negro children. The teacher of the middle-income white fifth grade spoke at length in her interview about the importance for the children of learning how to handle leadership and responsibility, and she structured committee reports so that children led the sessions and called on other children for discussion and comment. In the low-income Negro fifth grade, by contrast, the teacher stated that she thought the children should learn from school "first of all, discipline." She went on, "They should know that when an older person talks to them or gives a command that they should respond, they should listen." Her formal organization for classroom responsibilities was minimal and the subject held little interest for her.

The low-income all-Negro fifth grade in our study also contrasted sharply with the other classrooms with regard to the teacher's evaluation of the children's work. Each response a teacher made to a child's performance during the observation periods was recorded and categorized. The most common type of teacher response was "neutral acceptance," with the teacher implicitly acknowledging the correctness of an answer and moving on to the next question. Other teacher responses were correcting or completing an answer, passing on to another child for the answer, opening an answer up for further exploration, or evaluating it, either positively or negatively. Positive evaluations were remarks like, "that's good," "fine," "you've got it," etc. Incorrect answers were occasionally given a positive evaluation like "you're trying," or "that's getting close to it." Negative evaluations, "I'm surprised at you," "you aren't even trying," "speak louder," were usually accorded incorrect answers, but correct answers could be handled negatively with a remark like, "you've left something out," referring, perhaps, to a cent sign. When positive and negative responses for all teachers were tallied, it was found that the former equalled or exceeded the latter in all but the all Negro low-income fifth grade. In this classroom, negative evaluations by the teacher exceeded positive in a three to one ratio, with some correct answers evaluated negatively.

The teacher herself was not a negative person. The impression of the researchers was that she liked the children and was sincere in wanting to help them learn. Yet, despite the fact that she was a Negro woman, so deep-seated a social pattern is the negative attitude towards low-income Negro children, that she was unwittingly undermining her own aims. Other researchers have commented on the frequency with which teachers call a Negro child "stupid,"[35] and Fuchs quotes the poignant remark of a Negro high school student:

> I like French, but I don't like the teacher because she figures because she knows French that we should know it too. And, if you make a little mistake, she's quick to call you stupid, and especially me. We don't get along together at all and she's always calling me stupid.[36]

Dr. Kagan has spoken of how important it is for a child to have some expectation of success, and of how a child seeks support from adults and from his peers for the belief that he is competent. The findings of our study support the point made by Kenneth Clark and many others--that children from low-income homes who need this support most strongly from their teachers are the ones who get it the least. Clark cites cases where changed expectations for Negro students led to success, and he comments, "The 'miracle' seemed due primarily to an implementation of the belief that such children can learn."[37] Special projects with the aim of increasing the performance of disadvantaged children generally result in some improvement, no matter what the precise nature of the innovation is. The reason seems to be a stepping up of interest on the part of both teachers and students--for, after all, teachers also respond to the expectations that are held for them. This is the so-called "Hawthorne effect" named after the location of a pioneering experiment in worker-management relations. Experimentation with reforms in work conditions and their effects on worker morale and productivity unexpectedly yielded the finding that it was the interest shown in their situation, and the break in a monotonous routine, which (within reason) affected the workers more strongly than any specific innovations. The problem with the original Hawthorne experiment, and with so many school programs, is that the results are not enduring. All too often, once the program is over, the funds exhausted, the report written, things settle back to normal. Real insights may have been gained by a few teachers and lasting progress made by a few students, but on the whole, the old patterns reassert themselves.

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[35] See, for example, Martin Deutsch, "Minority Group and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Achievement," Society for Applied Anthropology, Monograph No. 2, 1960. p. 26.

[36] Fuchs, op. cit.

The social psychological process by which the expectations of adults, in this case teachers, which are projected upon children become acted upon by children has been called the "self-fulfilling prophecy" by the sociologist, Robert Merton. A psychologist, Robert Rosenthal and his co-worker, Lenore Jacobson, devised an ingenious method of testing the efficacy of the "self-fulfilling prophecy" in classrooms. On the basis of supposedly new psychological tests, Rosenthal gave teachers in each of three classrooms in the six grades of a school the names of some 20% of the children who would in all probability "spurt" ahead. The names were in fact randomly selected, but at the end of a four-months period, and again at the end of the year, the supposed "spurters" had indeed gained relative to their peers.[38] Classroom observations could have revealed the ways in which the teachers transmitted their higher expectations to these children and helped them to move ahead. The study, I have been referring to, suggested some of the ways in which this might have been done, though there must be many others. They would concur, however, in conveying a message to a child, "I expect you to succeed, and will try to help you," rather than, "I expect you to fail whatever I may do."

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[37] Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), pp. 141-145. See also Penty, R. C., "Reading Ability and High School Drop-Outs, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1956.

## Conclusions

The theme which has recurred frequently during the course of my discussion has been that there should be a turn towards reality in the classroom, towards the reality of the world as experienced by the children of today. The actual content of curriculum doubtless did not have the same social psychological significance for the learner in earlier times when education was limited to the formal training of "gentlemen," or even when it became extended to include teaching a large body of the citizenry at least minimal skills required for living and working in a rapidly industrializing world. Today the situation is otherwise. The aims and purposes which are generally considered the valid and necessary basis for our mass education involve: first, training children for responsible social participation in their adult public and private lives; second, training children for adult occupations and professions commensurate with their abilities; and third, making uniform each individual's opportunity for occupational and social advancement through equal access to public education.

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[38] Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, "Self-Fulfilling Prophecies in the Classroom: Teachers' Expectations as Unintended Determinants of Pupils' Intellectual Competence," ms from forthcoming book.

In such a context, flight from reality in the classroom becomes a serious hindrance to teachers in their attempts to communicate with children. Nor, as stated earlier, is alienation a problem for poor children alone when schools are out of step with realities that are increasingly confronting children. There are variations in children's school experience by race and class, and the failure to deal with reality sets up different kinds of barriers for children of different groups. However, a more direct handling of reality provides a key to reaching them all more effectively.

I have spoken of the language barrier which operates as much from the vantage point of teachers as that of children. The importance of helping teachers not to confuse poor use of standard English with inability to think or lack of desire to learn has been stressed, and allowing children to talk and write in their own idiom without censorship of "incorrect" usages has been suggested. Standard English--which of course must be learned as an avenue to educational advancement--can then be taught as a second language. Experimentation along these lines appears to be quite successful.

The first step of accepting the idiom in which children are accustomed to speak opens up a second, that of allowing them to introduce their own experiences into the classroom. Here it becomes important to allay teachers' fears as to what might follow, and to help them not to confuse the raising of taboo subjects with the holding of "lower class values." An example of what is meant is offered by two poems quoted in the article by Herbert Kohl cited above. They were both written by 11-year-old girls. The first was called, "Shop with Mom," and went:

> I love to shop with mom
> And talk to the friendly grocer
> And help her make the list
> Seems to make us closer.

The second was called "The Junkies:"

> When they are
> in the street
> they pass it

along to each
other but when
they see the
police they would
run some would
just stand still
and be beat
so pity ful
that they want
to cry

The first poem was highly praised and published in the school paper, while the second was met with horror. The first is clearly in accord with the "nice" world accepted in the classroom. The second mentions addiction, a taboo subject. However, in conveying so feelingly the pitiful, tragic quality of the addict's plight, the poem does not violate any of the values espoused by the school. Teachers, understandably nervous about having controversial subjects come up in the classroom, might miss this point; any mention of something that is "not nice" tends to become equated with a stereotype of "lower class values," or "lower class culture." (Parenthetically, one might comment on the fact that it is among the middle classes in our society today, and not in the lower class communities, that one meets people who assert a "value" in the use of drugs beyond the sheer escape from intolerable situations).

Teachers need help in learning not to be afraid of material such as the above, and in understanding how it can lead to meaningful and constructive classroom discussion. They also need support from counselors in making it clear to school administrators and touchy parents that they are merely allowing discussion of things about which the children have already heard in order to clarify their questions and confusions; that it is important educationally and psychologically to eliminate censorship from the classroom. However, dealing with reality does not mean to emphasize the seamy side of life. Children's interests are wide-ranging, and there are many topics of intrinsic interest to them which the teacher can use to build interest in lessons. Consider, for example, the amount of information (and misinformation) about space that children acquire, and which in the main fascinates them.

And consider the projects stemming from the exploration of space that could be developed, relating not only to reading, spelling, science and arithmetic, but also to history and social studies. (What is the same, what different, about space exploration today and the exploration of the world in Columbus' day? What kinds of people get involved? Why? What is the meaning of it all for us? etc., etc.) Topics such as space can also contribute to a better "masculine-feminine" balance in the classroom, in relation to the problem Dr. Kagan raised about the "feminine" atmosphere of the school. (A version of "femininity," I might interject, tying in with an emphasis on the "nice" and a taboo on anything unpleasant, that poses problems not only for boys, but for many girls as well.)

Once the question is raised: what _is_ the reality and what _are_ the interests of children, the arbitrariness of topics considered acceptable in school indeed seems strange. Why not all manner of other subjects, upon which children are already informed, and which do not place "culturally deprived" children at such a disadvantage? Why not arithmetic problems in terms of batting averages of baseball heroes? Or reading lessons on lively and timely topics, including words the children use and can gain assurance from knowing, terminologies of sports, music, dance, makes of cars? Why insist that learning at school be dull, by comparison with all the other learning children are avidly involved in? Why not compositions on contemporary social issues of the child's choosing, without censorship, without a "right" and "wrong?" Why not history lessons which bring out the fact that it is people trying to solve problems who really bring about historic changes, not just the heroes and leaders that such movements bring to the fore?

A more balanced view of American history than that which presently obtains would be an important contribution to a turn toward reality. It would be a serious misinterpretation, however, to assume that this could be a mere matter of tacking on to the present curriculum lessons on "Negro history." The reality of American history, black, white, Indian, Asian is an incredible adventure, and few of the television blood-and-thunder versions catch the essential drama of the reality. A wealth of material from the past, if made available to children, could help them place the dilemmas of the present in perspective: the dilemma of the frontiersmen, courageously carving out new lives in a new land, but displacing and destroying a proud and independent people to do so; Negroes, escaping the bitterness of slavery, becoming cowboys in the West, or chiefs in Indian bands; early explorers and traders living among the Indians in the wide reaches of the north and west; the driving ambition and all-out battle among the "robber barons" for economic empires in the new land, and so on and on.

The psychologist, Jerome Bruner, comments on the total failure to capture the "essential truth" of history, of the "passivity of the process we call education," of the "pablum that makes up...textbooks." School books, as they are now written, supposedly "touch more directly on the life of the child," Bruner writes, but asks, "What is this 'life of the child' as seen by text writers and publishers?" He answers:

> It is an image created out of an ideal of adjustment. The ideal of adjustment has little place for the driven man, the mythic hero, the idiosyncratic style. Its ideal is mediocentrism, reasonableness above all, being nice. Such an ideal does not touch closely the deeper life of the child. It does not appeal to the dark but energizing forces that lie close beneath the surface. The Old Testament, the Greek Myths, the Norse legends - these are the embarrassing chronicles of men of passion. They were devised to catch and preserve the power and tragedy of the human condition - and its ambiguity, too. In their place, we have substituted the noncontroversial and the banal.[39]

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[39] Jerome S. Bruner, "Learning and Thinking," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 29, No. 3, 1959, pp. 187-190.

Bruner is adding an important point to a definition of "reality." Myths that have stood the test of time touch a psychological reality--they are real in a sense that "realistic" vignettes about Dick and Jane happily jumping and skipping about are not. Middle-income children presumably accept Dick and Jane, who at least look familiar, more readily than do poor children, Negro children, and city children; and it is a welcome step when the existence of the latter is recognized by at least introducing their pictures and some routines of their daily lives into school materials. However, this is a far cry from introducing reality in any fundamental sense into materials for all children. At this level, some of the differences between children from economically secure and those from economically deprived homes drop away, for real, three-dimensional people cross the sub-cultural lines drawn by our society. The childhood hero, Huckleberry Finn, is an example. His rags call for no apology; he need not be introduced with the moralistic implication so common in school texts, "He is poor, but just as good as 'we' are, and many poor people like him built our country," (which moral, perversely, implies that precisely the reverse is true, but is not to be openly stated). Huck Finn speaks for himself as a total human being who wins the envy and admiration of children for the person he is and adventures he has. Similarly, what child can not identify with young Frederick Douglass in Shirley Graham's Once There Was a Slave, and what discussions cannot flow from it for all children, about the past, the future, the meaning of being Negro, of being white, of being free.

Allowing reality into the classroom means accepting and building upon the experiences of children and the meanings of these experiences for them, whether middle-income or low-income. It makes possible the enactment of Dewey's principle that learning can best be built upon the foundation of the experiences children have already had and their understanding of them, as well as those which can be structured for them in the school context. Dewey's principle is in a sense being rediscovered as educators concern themselves with the problem of how to improve communication with low status children. Accepting the world of low status children and respecting them sufficiently to learn from them about it conflicts with culturally ingrained status-linked behavior patterns, which do not operate with middle-income children, yet inquiry into what such respect means sharpens the understanding that acceptance of children generally is a necessary basis for effective teaching. Kohl found that teachers working with children from all social groups found the technique of encouraging free writing as the basis for discussion as effective a teaching tool as he had found it for reaching poor Negro children.

Counselors know, of course, that they cannot simply attempt to tell already frustrated teachers how they are creating many of their own difficulties by projecting their negative feelings upon children. Counselors also know that there is little a single teacher can do, that the culture of a school is pervasive and impinges on individual classrooms in many ways, and that any program to introduce change must have the support of a significant number of teachers. The problem counselors face is how to develop specific, meaningful, helpful programs, methods, and materials, so that teachers, feeling some success, are prepared to learn more and to move farther. It is true that Deutsch and his co-workers were able, after careful and sympathetic discussions with teachers in a Harlem school, to gain their confidence and raise explicit criticisms of their classroom methods with positive results. With regard to the use of derogatory words like "stupid," for example, Deutsch found that

> After discussion of these derogatory comments and the negative motivation sequence, future process records indicated that the majority of the teachers substantially decreased or eliminated such comments, and much seminar discussion was devoted to finding positive methods of approaching the children.[40]

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[40] Martin Deutsch, op. cit., p. 26.

On the whole, however, such extended work is not possible, and it is on the basis of making workable suggestions that progress can be made. Respect for children cannot be asked for, but with success, and improved communication with children, teachers are more prepared to give it. After some progress has been made, teachers may be ready to understand that the hostility and aggressiveness, or withdrawal and apathy, they find so frustrating with "culturally different" children stem from the desperate battle these children are waging for their self-respect; and to understand that part of what it means to be "middle class" is to look down on, hence block communication with, those who are "lower class."

In their review of compensatory educational programs for the disadvantaged, Gordon and Wilkerson comment that "probably the most productive approach to changed teacher behavior and attitudes is that which emphasizes providing teachers with new and improved tools." They continue:

> It is easy for teachers to slip into attitudes of defeat and indifference when they see little return for their efforts--and it is hard for them to remain indifferent and unchallenged when their efforts begin to meet with success.[41]

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[41] Edmund W. Gordon and Doxey A. Wilkerson, Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged, Programs and Practices: Preschool through College (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1966). pp. 167-168.

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# WHAT THE COUNSELOR SHOULD KNOW AND DO ABOUT TESTING IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

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Those of you who have heard how I engaged in dubious battle with a cement-mixer some ten days ago, may feel that in this paper I am in a figurative sense engaging in another such bout with the heady stuff Jerome Kagan and Eleanor Leacock have presented about the pre-teen development of children with which elementary school counselors deal. What, after all, do tests have to offer the counselor in the elementary school who must presume to deal with very real young children and to help their teachers and principals deal with them?

In the elementary school to date we have concerned ourselves considerably with children's mastering the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic in varying degree, along with acquisition of rudimentary knowledge and concepts in science and the social studies, with a dash of music and art--or more, if a school or teacher is prepared to stimulate it--while psychomotor skills are developed quite incidentally. Teachers have recognized and rewarded other types of development--autonomy and sex role standards, for example--quite uncertainly.

Dr. Kagan wisely raises the question of male models. Quite as basic would appear to be the wide differences among teachers in tolerance or encouragement of independent behavior. Indeed, if we are to describe the school atmosphere as feminine, it is quite as much so in rewarding docile behavior, neatness and orderliness, as in setting a feminine model. As the child grows older, he or she will be rewarded by men and women alike for such behavior; autonomy will be rewarded by men and women less often in most schools. (For that matter, autonomy will not generally be rewarded by programmed textbooks or curriculum guides.)

I shall always remember a response given by Jack Getzels when pressed by one questioner as to why many teachers found "gifted" children unpleasant or obnoxious. He said he could well understand it. "After all," he quipped, "in my classes I tell the jokes!"

I have just three footnotes to add to Dr. Kagan's well-documented account of differential development of the sexes with regard to academic mastery, in general and in particular curriculum areas. Stoddard in his Dual Progress Plan refers to the "cultural imperatives" and the "cultural electives." The former include the language arts and the social studies, while the electives include science and mathematics along with art and music. In these last areas, Stoddard argues, excellence is indeed regarded as desirable, but not as essential. We must remember the considerable number of boys who do not elect physics, even though the proportions who do are higher for boys than for girls.

The second footnote is from the first Ford Foundation studies of early college admissions. They found that early admissions chose mathematics and physical science far more often than did equally bright students admitted at the usual age. Depth interviews revealed that the early admissions had much earlier associated success in these subjects with ability to be sure one had succeeded quite independent of an adult's evaluation, while the humanities seemed too subjectively dependent on an adult's (teacher's) judgment. I have always enjoyed the story of five-year-old Johnny's being asked by a visitor what 2+2 was. "Four," replied Johnny. "That's pretty good," said the visitor. "Pretty good? Hell, that's perfect!" was the final word.

Third, if in many places boys overtake girls in academic mastery by adolescence, in other places girls of equal tested competence do better than boys in academic grades. This is at least partly because college professors' evaluation procedures continue to overreward the feminine virtues of neatness and promptness of completing assignments and providing evidence of mastering subject matter by test on schedule.

Dr. Leacock's observations on "reinforcing distance" are telling. Cognitive learning must be made appealing to all. Cloward's tutorial approach, using ethnic pairs, promises much to tutors as well as tutored. You will recall that in his New York City experiments poor readers at the high school level were paid to help younger children overcome their difficulties in reading. There is so much "right" about this approach that it is worth detailing. The fact that both tutors and tutored made reliable gains in reading is the payoff. But note first, learning by teaching is a well-established maxim in the whole teaching field. If you want to learn something really thoroughly, teach it to someone else. Second, more able students can help less able students; a teaching certificate is not essential if there is a teacher resource. Third, helping others is good motivation for many. In some cultural groups, monetary reinforcement of the teacher may be desirable or essential. Organize to use this incentive if necessary. But the greatest feature of the experiment is the appeal to the older backward student, the chronic loser, to help someone else -- something he can do, and something he can see himself doing successfully. It is hard to imagine any greater dynamic, any greater builder of the positive self-concept, than the experience of successfully helping another learn. Why have we so long denied these "losers" the joy that makes the profession of teaching, in which we work, so rewarding a career? Let us stop "reinforcing distance" among children; let us enter directly into helping teachers help children help each other learn! Tests anyone? Yes.

The following series of propositions and comment is offered as a basis for an outline of points to be made in defining the role of the elementary school counselor in relation to tests and testing programs.

1. Tests and testing programs in the schools need to be recognized as having primarily facilitating functions. If they have purposes and objectives, these are purposes and objectives set by the activities they help to facilitate, rather than their own. Let us seek to describe the circumstances that set the goals and functions of tests in our schools.

2. The education of children so that they may become effective in the society in which they will live is a basic function in all societies at all times.

3. At the present time, in a rapidly developing and changing society, education must prepare children to live with change, to accept it as a challenge. This means greater competence, greater adaptability, greater participation in group processes.

One should add self-confidence to the beginning of that list of requirements. Such self-confidence needs to be built, so far as possible, on a positive, but realistic view of oneself. It is generally best expressed by saying "I am worthy. I can take my place and contribute to the group's needs," rather than "I am as good as anyone else in just about everything."

4. Schools supplement the home and other community institutions in educating children. In our increasingly complex, and often rootless, impersonal urban society, the schools play a more comprehensive and unifying role than heretofore in educating our children. They are the one institution charged with continuing responsibility for the optimal development of all children.

This has been spelled out in the article "Specialized Support for the Superintendent." It leads me there to speak of the school superintendent as "the mayor of youth." A full study of that article will make clear that I do not ask for this role for the superintendent, but rather that the school's continuous legal responsibility for educating children over the sweep from age 7 to 16, or wider, finds him at the head of an agency that cannot give measured support based on its budget; it cannot "close a case" until the child is sixteen, so must take hold.

5. The central figure in the elementary school of today remains the classroom teacher. The teaching function has changed over time and is undergoing further change. Teaching is organized and conducted differently in different schools. In varying degrees, departmentalization, team teaching, teacher aides, educational television, and programmed instruction have modified teacher activities, but quite generally some one teacher stands as each child's prime monitor, his source of support and direction.

6. Instruction involves grouping of children. The chief pattern, the self-contained classroom, is a group situation, as are almost all variants on it. The coordination of this grouping and the instruction given in groups is the responsibility of "principal teachers," now called principals. Large school systems are coordinated through hierarchies of superintendents. These persons basically facilitate the work of the teachers. In a somewhat different way, teachers of special subjects facilitate the work of the classroom or homeroom teacher.

7. Elementary school teachers and their facilitating administrators have used various schemes for assigning children to instructional groups and for maintaining continuity in attention to each child's development. Teacher evaluations (marks), standardized test scores, and cumulative individual records are among the devices used. Referral to specialized personnel for diagnosis of learning problems is an additional device. Special services to facilitate treatment of these learning problems vary widely, but are on the increase.

8. The position of elementary school counselor, or "child development specialist," is emerging as a facilitating person in the use of these devices and others to assist the teacher, principal, and/or parent in helping the child develop optimally.

9. In almost all the areas of facilitation by the elementary school counselor that have been cited there is an element of measurement. Teacher marks, standardized test scores, individual mental ability measures are an integral part of the information exchanged.

10. Teachers and school administrators must depend on the most fully trained personnel for aid in interpreting test results in evaluating individual children's needs. Training programs for counselors generally involve more instruction about test use and interpretation than do the training programs for other educational personnel. These training experiences qualify the counselor to use tests to undergird his counseling efforts, but they have wider applications.

11. A result of the measurement requirements of the elementary counselor's role, the need for assistance in measurement by

other educational personnel, and the training in measurement given to prospective counselors, is to thrust the elementary counselor into a position of leadership in the selection and interpretation of tests. A corollary to this is the need for elementary counselors to familiarize themselves with the place of tests in the elementary school program instruction.

Instruction has always been the central function of the school. We can give it a developmental interpretation. Indeed, we need to give it the full flavor of development if it is to be effective instruction. Elementary counselors draw upon all other members of the pupil personnel services team to provide the evidence, in individual cases and more generally, of the developing needs and capabilities of the children being instructed. But there is a corollary need for the elementary counselor to be a member of the school team, to understand and accept the school's function of instruction. Too much cannot be said of this need for the counselor to be accepted as a helper in the school's task. Help teachers and principals first in their tasks as they see them and they will turn increasingly to counselors for help in ever broader areas of their need, including a broader interpretation of the problem of instruction itself, as they face it.

12. The elementary school counselor should familiarize himself with the great variety of appraisal devices available, including their strengths and limitations. Sociometric choice techniques and pupil self-reports offer means of evaluating the interpersonal reactions of children and the basically

important self-concept each holds. Evidence of independent judgment and action by the pupil should be sought.

13. Elementary counselors need to know, understand, feel and communicate the implications of the psychology of individual differences for instruction. The concrete fact is that in every school and school system the range of intellectual differences among children of the same chronological age (or school grade) in a subject area is far greater than the differences between averages for individuals one year apart in chronological age (or grade placement). Moreover, intraindividual variations from subject to subject need to be understood.

14. Homogeneous grouping is impossible. Individuals are not "homogenized" within themselves intellectually. And only the most specific diagnostic inventories can indicate common instructional needs. Achievement grouping, subject by subject, has most promise. Grouping within classes for instruction remains a significant practice even when departmentalization permits achievement grouping by class.

Too often in the past the implication of truly wide individual differences has been taken to be more homogeneous grouping of individuals for instruction. The concept is basically sound and has been applied to good advantage in many places in providing special classes for those with substantial limitations which indicate that, even as fully developed adults, they will continue to experience limitations that mean a limited work program is all they can achieve.

For them a curriculum can be devised and vocational rehabilitation programs can work them into the labor force in jobs in which they can succeed and contribute.

But it is a long step, and a wrong step, from such solutions at the extremes of the distribution of ability to propose homogeneous grouping within the general population. At a recent conference on our campus, a visiting participant aptly commented that the largest homogeneous group he had ever been able to find at any given moment consisted of one individual, and that individual changed from moment to moment. Because of this, much interest has developed over the past ten years in programmed instruction. Instant reinforcement of each individual where he is in his learning sequence has much to commend it. You have an excellent demonstration of this near at hand in the work emanating from the Research and Development Center in Human Learning at the University of Pittsburgh under the direction of Dr. Robert Glaser. Let me suggest an extension or variation.

Recently at the University of Georgia we enjoyed a seminar presentation by Professor Benjamin Bloom of the University of Chicago on what he calls "Mastery Learning." He took as his point of departure an article by John Carroll entitled "A Model for School Learning" in the Teachers College Record for May, 1963. Carroll defines aptitude for learning any task by any individual as the time required to master it, perseverance as the time the individual will give to mastering it, and the opportunity to learn as the time allowed by the school to the individual to master it. Other factors in the learning situation include the quality of instruction and the individual's capacity to comprehend instruction, each treated as modifying the amount of time required for mastery. Let us admit that mastery learning implies a body of skill and knowledge the teacher knows in advance needs to be mastered. There is more than mastery learning to be accomplished in schools, but much learning of skills and central knowledge can be set out to be mastered and really needs to be mastered as the basis of mastering subsequent skills hierarchically dependent on mastering the prerequisite skill and knowledge.

The key concept in this mastery learning is providing enough time to each child for him to attain mastery. Bloom cited college courses in which they had found providing enough time allowed 80% of students rather than 20% to achieve the level of mastery represented by a grade of A in the course when it was given under standard conditions of study over a quarter or semester. How much more helpful an adaptation to individual differences than group classifying. The ungraded school with its provision for continuous progress and evaluation is a part of the answer. Let us put our minds to other administrative devices, including tutoring and small group study, to permit more of our children to achieve mastery while progressing. Perhaps the secret weapon of our "overachievers" has always been this willingness and ability to find the time to attain the mastery that would otherwise be denied them in our uniform group pacing of instruction, and which is effectively denied to their peers who do not take this time to attain mastery before plunging incompletely prepared into the next area to be "mastered." Should we continue to be puzzled at why individuals of all disadvantaged groups fall progressively farther behind as they are "promoted" to higher levels of futility?

15. Explore the great variety of grouping possibilities available today: departmentalization, dual progress plans, team teaching, "Joplin" plan, "stratified grouping." Let faculties choose their own preferred plan in the light of their strengths and interests. Use case conference methods to keep each child with many teachers in proper focus. Evaluate each plan in terms of the group dynamics it generates among pupils and teachers.

The case conference method described in the 1944 Handbook of Cumulative Records is based in part on current evidence of progress through tests and marks. A key concept is that the method be applied systematically across the board to all the children in each class. Too often such conferences become bogged down over the problem cases, which are allowed to consume the full time. Let such cases be moved forward on the calendar where they require attention, but let some scheme of referral or special additional sessions be devoted to them so that (1) every child gets attention and (2) a balance is struck in teachers' minds between the successes and "failures" in their work.

16. Leadership opportunities can be provided more pupils if certain plans are tried. Regrouping from year to year, stratified grouping within an age-grade range, wide-range grouping can be based on test results and used to promote leadership and adaptability.

A word of explanation of what I mean by stratified grouping. I came upon this some twelve years ago in visiting the Baltimore

Public Schools. I was struck by the overlapping of achievement distributions in three classes in the same grade in one school. It was explained to me this way. Instead of heterogeneous or homogeneous grouping, the classes in a grade were formed by first arranging all the children in order of merit on some composite, in this case including scores on tests of reading, arithmetic and general mental ability. Then, the group of 90 were broken down into groups of 10 each. The first class was made of the first, the fourth, and the seventh tens. The second class was made of the second, the fifth, and the eighth tens; the third class was then made of the third, the sixth, and the ninth tens. Note several things this type of stratified grouping accomplishes. In the first group, the top ten can stimulate each other to the achievements of which they are capable and can be given some extra attention by their teacher because none of the twenty lowest students are in the group. Similarly, the teacher of the third class can give extra attention to the bottom ten without neglecting the top twenty, who are not in the class. The second class contains neither the top nor the bottom ten, so can operate within a slightly narrower range without the stresses of extremes. No class clearly outranks all others and within each class are spaced groups of potential leaders and followers. It is particularly significant that in the second and third classes, the second and third tens will have leadership opportunities often denied them by the outstanding capabilities of those in the top ten.

17. The concept of readiness needs to be expanded and explored. In particular, annual fall testing of achievement is to be recommended. Fall testing helps the teacher understand where his students stand in the learning sequences of each subject. It provides up to date comparable information about all the children. It promotes integrity in testing because it looks forward to helping, rather than backward to judging. Achievement is the business of schools. It is also the best predictor of further achievement.

Each of the separate statements just read will bear pondering because they add up to the reason why fall testing of achievement has successively overtaken, surpassed, and run far ahead of spring testing, which once was the rule. Fall achievement testing is right for these reasons.

Readiness testing at the beginning of first grade is widely accepted. In these days, when kindergarten is being geared increasingly to offer opportunities for earlier cognitive development, readiness can no longer be defined neatly as something to be measured within the first two or three weeks before it becomes "contaminated" by the teacher's first efforts. It has been contaminated in school and out by parents, teachers, TV, and older siblings. A standard test like the Metropolitan Readiness Test may be continued for the evidence it has given in the past and continues to give about new children, but we shall have to live with it as far as applying to children we know for a fact already read at a modest level. The old interpretation of readiness may also be placed on results derived at the beginning of kindergarten for newcomers there. What this country needs, besides a good five-cent cigar, is a reading test suitable to measuring the modest early mastery of the skills of reading accomplished by children with less than the usual first-grade year of experience in learning to read. Those of us involved in early education projects are in the midst of fretting ourselves into devising short administrable instruments capable of describing a rudimentary mastery of reading at one or more definable levels.

Meanwhile, be it noted that the Metropolitan Readiness Test, already mentioned, also contains a number readiness test, by way of striking a balance with reading readiness. This has been considered a small point in its favor, but now requires mention because of the negative reactions of some mathematics educators to past identification of counting and other numerical skills with the rudiments of mathematical development. Check with your local curriculum director in so far as number readiness is to be considered.

A word should be said at this point regarding measurement of listening comprehension at school entrance. A skill important in itself, listening comprehension is basic to reading comprehension. For nearly forty years now, the Durrell-Sullivan Reading Capacity and Achievement Tests have served remedial reading programs in the intermediate grades by permitting comparison of children's silent reading comprehension with their listening comprehension. Now the new

Cooperative Primary Test, to be issued in final normed state in January, 1968, contains a listening test at its first level, along with tests of word analysis, mathematics, and reading. Now that we accept as a fundamental feature of compensatory education in these early years increased linguistic exchanges between children and articulate adults, listening comprehension is the product to be measured and built upon.

Elementary counselors may now accept most primary level standardized achievement tests as useful to teachers at the beginning of each grade after the first. Reading is still probably most widely accepted as the central skill to be evaluated. And if the usefulness of tests outside of reading at this level is still in doubt locally, one may well accept the merit of concentrating on reading first. The old Gates Primary Reading Tests with their separate measurement of word, sentence, and paragraph meaning, now the Gates-MacGinitie Tests, make a useful battery at the beginning of grades 2 and 3.

It is true that for many years primary achievement test batteries depended so much on reading throughout, or on the mechanics of arithmetic and spelling, as to prevent a balanced emphasis on goals of instruction at the primary level. Today's achievement batteries, of which the 1962 revision of the Metropolitan Achievement Tests may be used as an example, involve oral presentation of arithmetic problems, and measures of word analysis as well as word recognition, along with reading comprehension, to qualify as balanced useful instruments with separately reliable scores on all these counts.

The case for achievement battery testing is even stronger in the higher elementary grades. At each grade level the new class comes with its increasingly varied competences. If teachers are to help children learn, they must seek early to acquire information about what has already been mastered. As argued later in regard to articulation with secondary schools, use the same achievement battery at each grade level to simplify interpretation of progress.

18. Systematic testing of vision and hearing should be promoted as part of the reading program from the beginning. Work through school nurses for other examinations as part of a comprehensive program of pupil personnel services.

The article entitled "The Complete Testing Program" points to the desirability of audiometric and vision testing of school beginners. This seems a point worth continued mention. It is true that poor vision, for example, is less serious than other factors in poor reading, but extremely poor vision or hearing is serious and worth correction at the start. School nurses can play a proper role in communicating any finding to parents as tentative and to be checked out with the family doctor or public health clinic.

19. The neat notion of comparing achievement with ability needs to be subjected to sophisticated explication. Every test of cognition, whether labeled "achievement", "aptitude", or "intelligence", is a measure of achievement of some sort.

"Aptitude" implies the use of measured achievement to predict subsequent achievement. "Intelligence" can only be inferred from achievement of mastery of significant facts and ideas, skill in comprehending information and seeing relations.

20. The concept of "aptitude" needs to be viewed as prior evidence of likelihood of success. Thus viewed, the best predictor of achievement is earlier achievement. "Basic skills" are basic in this sense. In particular, listening comprehension is basic to reading comprehension.

21. Culture-free measures are illusory. To put it facetiously, culture-free tests would be more helpful if it were unnecessary to live in a culture. Better, "intrinsically valid" measures, where improvement reflects improved potential. Direct help to those with given present potential, including help with self-concept and level of aspiration, are to be preferred to efforts to compensate in a test for handicapping effects. The most promising test leads appear to be tests differentially affected by cultural deprivation.

22. Group testing of mental ability needs to be viewed as a screening procedure preliminary to individual testing where that will be required for assignment to special classes, rather than as the measure of an intrinsic quality. It is well to designate such group determinations by a different symbol from the one used for individual test determinations. Thus, if IQ is used for the product of individual testing, let PLR (Probable Learning Rate) be used to designate the corresponding measure obtained from group testing. Note

that, in every instance, the MA (mental age) or its equivalent reflects current capability, while the ratio measure is a rate of growth and a prediction of likely adult intellectual status.

23. Maintenance of individual cumulative records for all pupils is essential to gaining maximum value from tests. This year's performance has greater meaning if it can be compared with last year's and can be interpreted in the light of past health and family history. Teachers can be helped to contribute constructive anecdotal comments as well as certain systematic evaluations of personal development. Home visit reports often add much useful information.

24. Cumulative records and case conferences, based in part on test scores and teacher marks, but including other observations and evaluations, should be used to promote pupil interest and involvement in school activities. Dropout studies show this lack of involvement is a symptom of the early stages of dropping out and highly predictive of final leaving.

Two separate doctoral studies under my direction pointed clearly to lack of pupil involvement in school activities being related to subsequent dropout. One study was in a large city, the other in a rural county. The other prime factor was prior failure or retention in grade and, for boys, irregular attendance.

25. Test data and teacher evaluation (marks) can be made part of "thumbnail case studies", which can be used as the basis for case conferences about children. A highly desirable

arrangement is to have regularly scheduled weekly meetings about the children of each class in each grade. If all the children can be studied over the year, more balanced and constructive reactions of teachers may be expected than if all sessions are devoted to the "problem" cases.

Nyack, New York, has for 25 years used the "thumbnail case study" for case conferences to promote attention and follow-up of students, as described in the Handbook of Cumulative Records and elsewhere.

26. The elementary counselor should help develop constructive, efficient forms for transmitting transfer information to receiving secondary schools in advance. Placement in secondary classes is only one benefit of test information forwarded. A corresponding systematic feedback of reports on achievement in secondary school is desirable.

27. Use of a common standardized achievement test battery at elementary and early secondary levels can help with articulation of instruction and evaluation of student achievement. Teachers at different school levels can talk in a common language. Choose the achievement battery carefully, preferably by committee, then stick with it. A considerable part of the value of any test is the accumulated experience with its meaning, which may take the form of informal or formal local norms.

28. Teachers and administrators can be helped to realize the advantages of testing pupils at their reading levels rather than by tests designated as appropriate for their present

grade status. It is more helpful to find a pupil's relative strengths and weaknesses on a test at a low level than to test him "at grade" and find him abysmally low across the board simply because he cannot read at that level.

This suggestion is based on actual experience in Atlanta. Principals from schools in disadvantaged areas sought and obtained the privilege of testing at reading level and it spread from school to school. The paper on "The Effect of Adapting Standardized Tests to Reading Level in Grades 4-7" was prepared to reassure ourselves that this practice could be followed without lowering the school's median score in achievement. After all, lower level tests permit the registering of lower levels of measured achievement and we feared to recommend the new practice to others for fear it might lower their achievement records. Fortunately, as we had predicted, the lower quartile at each school dropped, but the median held even. Meanwhile, children were tested at levels at which they could feel some mastery.

29. The use of tests for multiple purposes, thereby achieving efficiency in test use, can best be understood and promoted by the elementary school counselor. If tests are selected first to provide information to the teacher to guide instruction, the results can later be summarized for the administrator to appraise the success with which the instruction is being managed generally. Procedures can be worked out to provide maximum useful information to the administrator of every sub-unit with a minimum of unnecessary comparative

information about others. Test data can also be summarized for referrals and for transmittal to secondary schools.

The point is that achievement tests long enough to provide useful data for instructional planning by classroom teachers can be condensed for other uses. On the other hand, short tests that might serve an immediate guidance or administrative purpose could not be used to help appraise individual achievement.

30. Teachers and administrators should be helped to realize that scores on standardized tests are expressed in terms of comparisons with norms for just one reason, that the range of achievement of individuals who have taken the test at the same point in their careers, or at different points, provides the most stable basis for interpretation of each individual's performance. Norms for different reference groups are important for various purposes. Local norms have special value, but national norms are increasingly important as our society becomes more and more mobile.

31. Tests lending themselves to direct interpretation are rare, but highly desirable. Inventory or diagnostic tests have a place in instruction and planning. The more a test lends itself to direct interpretation the better.

Here the earlier comment about mastery learning and testing applies. Even standardized tests lend themselves to measurement of mastery and pupils can come to know the thrill of mastery usually reserved for superior students if they can be tested at their mastery level.

32. A graphic profile of an individual's achievement on different parts of a test battery provides maximum useful information about a child with a minimum of unnecessary comparative information to distract. High points and low points may be discussed as sources of relative strength and weakness and strategies for further effort may be devised to build upon them or cope with them. Normative data may be at the margins for reference when necessary.

33. The child may be involved in plotting and interpreting his achievement in his own interest. He may be allowed to "guess" his relative achievement in different areas, then be guided in resolving discrepancies between his estimates and his measured accomplishments.

The article from the 1944 Handbook of Cumulative Records included description of a school which practiced having all pupils from grade 4 up plot their own profiles and discuss them. The use of "guessing" achievement as part of test interpretation is described instructively by Ohlsen in his chapter on Test Interpretation in the National Society for the Study of Education Yearbook on The Impact and Improvement of School Testing Programs.

34. Teachers should be helped to realize that marks need to be made as nearly equivalent as possible from teacher to teacher, from subject to subject, and from grade to grade. Differences in grading practices between elementary and secondary schools can become a source of difficulty in the transition between levels. Also, if special sections or

classes are established for superior students, use special grading systems to assure that those who would have attained A or B in a regular class get that grade in the advanced class.

We found it helpful to offer three grades of A - A1, A2, and A3 - in classes for superior students in Atlanta. This left room for differentiation among the most able, and made for some healthy competition among them, while letting the top three groups earn A, as they would have in a regular class.

35. A case can be made for having the elementary school counselor assume major responsibility for the school testing program. Care must be taken to avoid being bogged down with administrative chores, but responsibility for testing puts one in the position to initiate desirable changes. There is a parallel in secondary schools. High school counselors have to avoid getting bogged down in scheduling, yet some of the best high school counselors I have known have been chairmen of scheduling committees in order to be able to arrange schedules students needed.

36. Individual testing of mental ability is another area where involvement is desirable, but needs to be limited. A counselor should not become involved in routine testing of children for assignment to special classes, but may well qualify himself to give individual tests in special instances, especially if such service is not readily available through clinics. Counselors need to be well qualified to interpret

results of individual testing, so the overlearning involved in becoming a certified examiner will help in any event.

37. Remedial instruction is an area where giving and interpreting individual tests can be helpful. Involvement by the elementary counselor needs to be limited, but this will depend partly on availability of specialized help. In any event, assistance should be predominantly consultative to teachers.

38. Promote interest in common objectives. The Proposed Goals of Education adopted by the State Board of Education in its Quality Education Project are broadly inclusive. Examine special local objectives for evidence that they extend rather than limit broader objectives. Examine the total evaluation program for its adequacy in reflecting mastery of these objectives. Include in the school's testing program measures for all the educational outcomes the school is actually working to achieve. Build some, where necessary.

In conclusion, I should like to call attention to the balanced statement of proposed goals adopted by the Committee on Quality Education of the Pennsylvania State Board of Education to guide its plans for evaluation. These ten goals appear to me to set in proper perspective our thinking in this conference. They are as follows, with the underlining mine:

I. Quality education should help every child acquire the greatest possible understanding of himself and an appreciation of his worthiness as a member of society.

Relevant evaluation procedures already mentioned include use of profiles, adapting tests to reading level, case conferences, fall testing when some action can be taken, analyses of fundamental causations and adapted programs.

II. Quality education should help every child acquire understanding and appreciation of persons belonging to social, cultural and ethnic groups different from his own.

These "intangibles" are identifiable as to contact opportunity and subject to evaluation by checklist, sociometric choice, and group behavior evaluations like the Russell Sage Social Relations Test.

III. Quality education should help every child acquire to the fullest extent possible for him mastery of the basic skills in the use of words and numbers.

Here we use our conventional tests and testing programs. And I find it altogether proper for this goal to be stated third after the first two.

IV. Quality education should help every child acquire a positive attitude toward school and toward the learning process.

The evaluation procedures cited under goal I promote achievement of this goal also. Anecdotal and checklist evidence of voluntary behavior should be accumulated to convince those not directly involved of the degree of goal attainment.

V. Quality education should help every child acquire the habits and attitudes associated with responsible citizenship.

Student government with some autonomous authority, plus opportunity for individual decision making, would appear essential to allow significant behavior to observe. Group behavior situations, like the Russell Sage Social Relations Test, and sociometric choice, are steps in the direction of testing.

VI. Quality education should help every child acquire good health habits and an understanding of the conditions necessary for the maintenance of physical and emotional well-being.

Physical fitness, directly taught, is tested by the AAHPER battery; health habits have tests and checklists. Both contribute to emotional health, as do satisfying group experiences, measured as under goals II and V. Special classes for children identified as mentally or emotionally deficient by individual testing can be evaluated in terms of gains in learning and in returning of children to regular classes.

VII. Quality education should give every child opportunity and encouragement to be creative in one or more fields of endeavor.

Here we must plead for instructional situations inviting free response and novel ideas. These may then be noted as spontaneous behavior. The work products may be judged for both content and process value. Short-answer essay tests may then properly call for divergent solutions as an expected response.

VIII. Quality education should help every child understand the opportunities open to him for preparing himself for a productive life and should enable him to take full advantage of these opportunities.

Educational-vocational guidance, broadly conceived, to guide virtually all into post-secondary education of an appropriate sort, both formal and spontaneously attempted, is intended here. Measurement may be individual in evaluating fitness of choices to capabilities, but will be largely a group measurement of successful pursuit of varied study opportunities in schools and colleges, and spontaneous activities in library use, concert attendance, etc. Availability of guidance information and service should be subjected to input evaluation.

IX. Quality education should help every child to understand and appreciate as much as he can of human achievement in the natural sciences, the social sciences, the humanities and the arts.

Here again we come to outcomes generally appraised in achievement tests in the substantive areas. This presents a challenge to test builders and test choosers to emphasize significant content and process mastery on an absolute scale, in the manner of the National Assessment Program, as contrasted with differential evaluation of individuals on a scale of their own variation.

X. Quality education should help every child to prepare for a world of rapid change and unforseeable demands in which continuing education throughout his adult life should be a normal expectation.

Evaluation here may follow lines indicated under both goals VIII and IX. Certainly the content of tests under goal IX should measure understanding of the world today as much as cultural heritage if the student is to be ready for even the immediate future, with its trends most clearly visible only in the present and the immediate past. Here is a point to call attention to books like Platt's The Step to Man to give ever fresh insights into the nature of stability within change.

Someone has offered as the definitive illustration of an optimist the lady who slips her shoes on again when the after dinner speaker says, "And now in conclusion...." We have now come to that point.

In conclusion, let me draw this audience's attention especially to the 1963 NSSE Yearbook on The Impact and Improvement of School Test Programs for its implications for the issues opened up at this conference. Berdie and Ohlsen have excellent chapters on the use of tests in guidance. Ralph Tyler has a chapter on "External Testing Programs" with particular reference to meeting the criticisms in Testing, Testing, Testing. And chapters by Traxler and North and by Hagen and Lindberg describe useful procedures for the selection, administration, and use of tests in relation to staff competencies.

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# DEVELOPMENTAL GUIDANCE: THEORY AND PROCEDURES IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

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Some pupil personnel services in the elementary school emphasize diagnostic evaluation, while others are primarily concerned with remedial counseling for a few children and their parents. The type of guidance I shall describe is developmental in nature and is concerned with offering help to all pupils. The emphasis in this service is upon early identification of the child's psychological characteristics, diagnosis of his learning difficulties, if any, recognition of his aptitudes and his assets, and the development of resources to meet his needs.

Developmental guidance thus is concerned with improving the learning environment of school and the home. It is concerned with reconciling the uniqueness of the individual with the demands of his society and culture. The focus is on the development of both cognitive and affective learning. This theory of developmental guidance is concerned with the development of ego strength, not just its repair (Dinkmeyer and Dreikurs, 1963; Tiedeman, 1961).

## Principles of Developmental Guidance

It is vital that the counselor understand the child's development, his developmental tasks, and his needs. Guidance services in the elementary school are particularly concerned with meeting the following pupil needs:

1. The need to mature in self-acceptance, in an understanding of one's self, one's assets and liabilities, and to develop a more realistic self-evaluation.
2. The need to mature in social relationships, to belong, and to identify.
3. The need to develop independence, to take responsibility, to make choices and be responsible for them.

4. The need to mature in understanding the role of work in life as it first appears in educational achievement, then to understand opportunity in the environment as related to self. This necessitates a realistic self-appraisal of capacities, aptitudes, interests, and attitudes.

5. The need to meet appropriate developmental tasks and developmental needs (Dinkmeyer, 1965).

Thus, it is important to set forth some principles which are the bases for any techniques or procedures.

1. Developmental guidance is an integral part of the educational process and must be consistent in purpose with the philosophy and objectives of the elementary school in which it operates.
2. Developmental guidance is for all children, not merely the deviate.
3. It is an organized effort of the school to help the child develop his maximum potential, both academically and socially.
4. The elementary school teacher himself must be expected to perform certain guidance functions.
5. Although guidance may be incidental, it functions best as a planned program providing continuous assistance to the child during his school experiences, helping him to accomplish tasks which lead to his cognitive and affective development. The school curriculum provides the experiences, but the guidance functions of counselor and teacher assist the child in succeeding in these experiences.
6. A guidance program is most effective when there is cooperation between teacher, counselor, parents, administration, and community. The counselor provides services to the child directly--

through counseling, pupil appraisal, and group guidance, and indirectly through cousultation with teachers and parents.

7. It helps the child make full use of his potential talents and capacities (Maslow, 1954).

8. It stresses the perceptual understanding of human behavior in order to maximize the educational process (ASCD Yearbook, 1962; Combs and Snygg, 1959).

9. It emphasizes purposeful and meaningful learning experiences.

10. It discovers and encourages the child's assets, shows faith in him, and recognizes his strengths and efforts (Dinkmeyer and Dreikurs, 1963; Dinkmeyer, 1968a).

## Organizing, Initiating, and Administrating Guidance Programs

Professionals in education are well aware that the philosophy and basic concepts which have been set forth only become meaningful as they are administered through an organized program. Guidance must be conceived of not as a special service, but as an integral part of the educational program. As such its goal is to reach all students. Its concern remains with developmental problems. In this conceptualization, classroom guidance is not incidental, but a primary responsibility of the teacher. The teacher does not become a therapist, but he is involved on a daily basis in the identification of guidance needs and in assisting pupils to meet developmental tasks. The teacher is able to relate the learning opportunities of the school to the emerging interests, purposes, and abilities of the child. The program must reflect a collaborative relationship between administrators, teachers, other pupil personnel specialists, and parents. Not enough can be said about the importance of guidance services at the elementary level being based on a team approach with close cooperation between teachers and the total pupil personnel team. It is only through an integrated approach that there is an opportunity for elementary school guidance to become creative, unique, and developmental.

The implementation of such a program requires not only a continuous evaluation of the nature of the human relationships in the school setting, but also the practical development of channels of communication. One of the procedures fundamental to the development of communication is the formation of the guidance council. The council is composed of representatives of the teachers who meet regularly with administration and the guidance staff in order to discuss needs, problems, and procedures (Dinkmeyer, 1968b).

The administrator provides the guidance program with leadership and his personal support. The administrator is the person who makes available the physical facilities, the schedule, the time, and even the opportunities for regular appointments between counselor and teacher. The teacher becomes the center of the program involved in identification of needs and facilitation of attitudes and behavior. He is concerned with collaboration with the school counselor to provide services beyond that which his skills and understanding permit.

## Division of Guidance Services

The following areas constitute the major guidance services:

1. Pupil Appraisal - The early identification of abilities, assets, talents, and liabilities. Information is collected by the teacher with major focus on the development of self-understanding, self-acceptance, and a more realistic self-evaluation by students.

2. Consulting - The counselor and the teacher collaborate to facilitate the learning of the child. The counselor is responsible for acquainting the teacher with guidance techniques. The counselor may be concerned about helping the teacher understand an individual or perhaps assist the teacher to work with the entire group.

In the consultant role the counselor assists by meeting with parents in groups to help them understand parent-child relationships and by meeting individually to deal with specific concerns.

3. Counseling - Counseling in the elementary school may be either remedial, involving the modification of attitudes and behavior, or developmental, emphasizing exploration and self-understanding (Dinkmeyer, 1966). The counseling service would include group counseling directed at assisting the child to understand himself and to learn to interact effectively within the group.

4. Classroom Guidance Program - Each Classroom provides a set of planned guidance experiences. Classroom guidance must consist of a sequential curriculum in the elementary school, just as the other instructional areas. This program is dependent upon the teacher's capacities to develop a relationship which facilitates learning.

5. Group Guidance and Information Services - This area includes the kinds of services that can be accomplished as effectively with groups as with individuals. It includes providing information of an educational, occupational, personal and social nature. While the counselor would occasionally be responsible for the conduct of group guidance, in most situations he would provide the teacher with materials and demonstrate the process of group guidance (Goldman, 1962).

6. Administration Research and Evaluation - Time must also be scheduled for the administration and coordination of program, a working out of the human relationships at the adult level and the provision for continuous evaluation and research.

## Techniques

Pupil Appraisal. Child study and pupil appraisal have always been considered an important part of the guidance service. Tests should be selected which provide both teachers and students with the kinds of information which help them to make more valid educational plans. Tests frequently have small impact upon a learning process in schools. They are used to provide a summary of the progress of a group, but they have no direct effect upon the continuous instructional process. Ideally, tests might be used to identify an individual's special talents or weakness, either of which might help the teacher develop an instructional program developed in terms of the needs of the pupils. This use of tests would help the teachers and pupils make realistic plans about the level and amount of work which might be accomplished. Test interpretation should be done in such a manner that students, parents and teachers have considerable understanding regarding the individual and his potential.

Some interesting uses of tests in educational settings are described in articles by:

Bauernfeind, R. "Can Tests Facilitate the Learning Process?" 30th Educational Conference, Educational Records Bureau. October 1965.

Lister, James L. and Merle M. Ohlsen. "The Improvement of Self-Understanding through Test Interpretation" Personnel and Guidance Journal, April 1965, vol. 43, no. 8.

Leonard, George. "Utilizing Test Results in the Elementary Classroom" School Counselor, October 1964, vol. 12, no. 1.

Ricks, James. "On Telling Parents About Test Results" Test Service Bulletin, December 1959, no. 54. The Psychological Corporation.

There are also a number of informal nonstandardized methods of identifying guidance needs such as cumulative records, anecdotal records, autobiography, creative writing, interest inventories, sentence and story completion. These will be treated more extensively under Classroom Guidance.

Guidance Consulting. Consulting is one of the vital functions of the elementary counselor. Some professionals believe the consultant is really the only practical approach to developmental guidance that purports to reach all students, teachers, parents, and administrators.

Consulting is the procedure through which teachers, parents, principals, and other significant adults in the life of a child communicate. Consulting, then, involves sharing information and ideas, coordinating, comparing observations, providing a sounding board, and developing tentative hypotheses for action. The emphasis here is on joint planning and collaboration in contrast to any superior-inferior relationship that is involved in some consultation with specialists. The purpose is to develop recommendations which will fit the uniqueness of the child, the teacher, and the setting.

A number of leaders in the field of guidance and counseling have long advocated the consultant role. One of the first was Patouillet (1957). Wrenn (1962), writing for the Commission on Guidance in American Schools, also underlined the importance of consultation. Eckerson and Smith (1962) of the U. S. Office of Education have always advocated consultation as a major focus of the guidance service. Their study (1966) indicated that over three-fourths of the principals interviewed included consultation with parents, teachers, and counseling with children among the most important guidance functions. The principals have usually considered consultation to be a primary function of the elementary counselor. Oldridge (1964) did a study contrasting the psychotherapeutic role with the consultant in an elementary district. He found that the consultant role was preferred both by guidance workers and school staff. There was little evidence that psychotheraphy was more effective than the consultant procedure.

The importance of consultation is well described in an article by Gerald Quinn of the Indiana Department of Public Instruction. In summarizing Indiana's pilot projects, Quinn states:

> "Regardless of our own feelings that counseling children should be the key to a successful program, the first year's

> program seems to hinge upon the counselor's ability to relate to teachers. A counselor who communicates easily with teachers and wins their confidence seems to have the best chance to work with the teacher's pupils in a helping relationship. In schools in which this phase of the counselor's role receives too little attention, the programs are generally accepted with reservations. The positive judgment of teachers and administrators is vital to a new program." (Quinn, 1967)

Consulting procedures are based upon collaboration and teamwork. The consultant and the teacher together decide upon the kind of information that is needed. The teacher is already able to provide anecdotes, samples of the child's work, and his observation. Some observation by the consultant then focuses on understanding interactions between peers, the child, and the teacher. The consultant notes the social meaning of the child's behavior and the consequences of the interactions he observes. In classroom observation he is concerned with determining the self-image the child is seeking to maintain.

In some instances the consultant may conduct a brief diagnostic to check the impressions he obtained through observations. After information has been collected, the consultant and the teacher discuss the information and develop some tentative hypotheses and recommendations. Recommendations are developed in terms of an understanding of the teacher's personality and his capacity to carry out the recommendations. The consultant helps clarify specific factors about the individual which are significant for the educational process. (Dinkmeyer, 1967a; Faust, 1967; Kaczkowski, 1967).

Counseling. Counseling in the elementary school seems to fall into two definable approaches: 1) developmental counseling, which is not always problem-oriented but focuses on the development of self-understanding and methods for solving the developmental tasks; and 2) counseling for the modification of behavior and attitudes, which is often problem-oriented attempting to change a child's faulty and confused convictions, percepts, attitudes, and behavior. Although principles and processes are similar, there may be differences in emphasis between the two counseling approaches (Dinkmeyer, 1966; 1967b; 1968c).

I would propose the following purposes for counseling children in the elementary school. The central purpose of counseling children is to help the child:

1. To know and understand himself, his assets and liabilities, and through his self-understanding to develop a better understanding of the relationships among his own abilities, interests, achievements, and opportunities.
2. To develop self-acceptance, a sense of personal worth, a belief in one's competence, a trust in oneself, and self-confidence; to develop an accompanying trust and acceptance of others.
3. To develop methods of solving the developmental tasks of life with a resultant realistic approach to the tasks of life as met in the areas of work and interpersonal relations.
4. To develop increased self-direction, and problem-solving and decision-making abilities.
5. To develop responsibility for his choices and actions; to be aware that his behavior is goal-oriented, and to consider the consequences when making a decision.
6. To modify faulty concepts and convictions so that he may develop wholesome attitudes and concepts of self and others; to be able to perceive reality as defined by others (Dinkmeyer, 1967b).

It is not possible to detail the counseling procedures which are already being utilized in the elementary school. Instead, I have chosen to refer briefly to articles which have been developed regarding present positions.

The developmental position in counseling has been strongly advocated by Donald Blocher. Details can be obtained in his book Developmental Counseling (1966) and in an article now in press with the Elementary School Guidance and Counseling Journal titled "Developmental Counseling: A Rationale for Counseling in the Elementary School." Blocher indicates that elementary school counseling has a special opportunity to develop and extend its role in such a way that it makes a contribution to the mainstream of the educational enterprise, the development of human effectiveness. The role of the developmental counselor, then, is to design a set of experiences for the client which facilitate the mastery of key developmental tasks. As Blocher states, "The unique function of the counseling relationship in this process is to regulate the degree of support versus constructive dissonance which will facilitate the learning of new coping behaviors." Blocher suggests that the developmental counselor would use a wide range of approaches which would include not only the provision of warmth and positive regard, but also the communication of dissonance-arousing expectations and perceptions. Such counseling would involve the use of confrontation and encounter as well as reflection and acceptance. It depicts the counselor in an active role.

Developmental counseling in the elementary school is also considered in articles by:

Dinkmeyer, Don "Developmental Counseling in the Elementary School" Personnel & Guidance Journal, November 1966, vol. 45, no. 3.

Dinkmeyer, Don "Counseling Theory and Practice in the Elementary School" Elementary School Guidance and Counseling, June 1967, vol. 1, no. 3.

Peters, Herman. "Counseling Children in the Elementary School" prepared for Guidance and Counseling in the Elementary School: Readings in Theory and Practice, edited by Don Dinkmeyer, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.

Considerable interest has also been shown in behavioral approaches to counseling in the elementary school. This approach can be read in greater detail in:

Krumboltz, John D. and Raymond E. Hosford. "Behavioral Counseling in the Elementary School" Elementary School Guidance and Counseling, vol. 1, no. 1, 1967.

Kennedy, Daniel A. "A Behavioral Approach to Elementary School Counseling" Elementary School Guidance and Counseling, March 1967, vol. 1, no. 2.

Zimmer, Jules M. "Learning Principles Strategy: An Approach for Guidance in the Elementary School" Elementary School Guidance and Counseling, October 1967, vol. 2, no. 1.

Another approach to counseling is presented in the article "Rational Counseling: A Dynamic Approach to Children" by Morley Glicken in process with the Elementary School Guidance and Counseling Journal. Glicken reports on his experiences in counseling children and believes that it is fallacious to assume that most children cannot readily discuss their problems. He found that almost without exception children in his elementary school could and did discuss their difficulties without the utilization of play therapy or other less directive approaches.

## Research on Elementary School Counseling Process

Research on counseling in the elementary school is limited. VanHoose and Peters have reported on several studies of dimensions of the counseling process (VanHoose and Peters, in press). They found that elementary counselors tend to respond more to content than feeling in their data. They noted that in most of their interviews the elementary school counselor responded consistently to the core of the counselee's speech. Children in their study assumed some responsibility for the counseling interview and for solving problems through counseling. They observed only one case in which the child assumed little or no responsibility for the interview.

However, approximately 50% of all counselees in their study appeared to assume slightly less than average responsibility for the interview. Their study indicated that in a majority of cases the level of communication and understanding between the child and the counselor appears to be adequate. The general conclusion is that children are able to assume responsibility; however, they do tend to assume less responsibility than adolescents or adults.

VanHoose and Peters (in press) in an article titled "In-Counseling Behavior of Elementary School Counselors" conclude that the child is not as verbal as the adolescent and he does not generally have all the skills necessary for describing what really bothers him. They suggest that there is need for a greater sensitivity in working with non-verbal cues. The counselor is required to deal with immediate matters and concerns in contrast to focusing on the future because cognitively and emotionally elementary pupils' perception of time is now.

Matthes, Kranzler, and Mayer (in press) studied the six conditions that Rogers has implied as necessary and sufficient for counseling. Rogers stated that it was necessary for the client to perceive the conditions of acceptance and empathy and congruence in the counseling relationship before therapeutic personality change would occur. In their research study they found that "The only statistically significant correlation coefficient was that between perceived counselor unconditionality of regard and change in the subject's sociometric status. The higher the level of unconditionality of regard the subject perceived in the counseling relationship, the smaller was the subject's gain in a sociometric status. They hypothesized that perhaps the subjects did not consider other ways to improve their peer relations because the counselors accepted the subject's present mode of behavior which had been the cause of his low sociometric status. It is suggested that possibly by offering this high degree of acceptance the counselors reinforce the subject's inappropriate social behavior. They offer this as a tentative explanation only and suggest that the counselor and client interaction with children must be examined more closely. From the results of this study it must be concluded that there is not a positive relationship between the client's perception of counselors and change in the client's sociometric status, attitude, and social skills.

Studies of the counseling process with the elementary school child have been done by:

Hawkins, Sue "The Content of Elementary Counseling Interviews" Elementary School Guidance and Counseling, October 1967, vol. 2, no. 1.

Biasco, Frank "The Effect of Individual, Multiple Counseling and Teacher Guidance Upon the Sociometric Status of Children Enrolled in Grades Four, Five and Six" Oswego, New York: New York State Univ., 1966 mimeographed.

Kranzler, G., G. Mayer, C. Dyer and P. Munger "Counseling with Elementary School Children: An Experimental Study" Personnel & Guidance Journal, May 1966, vol. 44, no. 9.

Anderson, Ethel C. "Counseling Versus Teacher-Consultation in the Elementary School" in process Elementary School Guidance and Counseling.

## Group Counseling

The use of group counseling in the elementary school is on the increase. It is particularly effective in the elementary school because it recognizes that most problems are primarily social and it provides the opportunity for group dynamics to facilitate the development of the members of the group.

Procedures for group counseling in the elementary school have been set forth by:

Dreikurs, Rudolf and Manford Sonstegard Rationale of Group Counseling from the Teleoanalytic Approach to Group Counseling. Chicago: Alfred Adler Institute, 1967.

Ohlsen, Merle "Counseling Children in Groups" The School Counselor, May 1968, vol. 15 (in press).

Combs, C., B. Cohn, E. Gibian, and A. M. Sniffen "Group Counseling: Applying the Technique" The School Counselor, October 1963, vol. 11.

Some evidence regarding the effectiveness of group counseling in the elementary school can be found in:

Ohlsen, Merle and George Gazda "Appraisal of Group Counseling for Underachieving, Bright Fifth Graders and Their Parents" Project at University of Illinois.

Stormer, Edward "Milieu Group Counseling in Elementary School Guidance" Elementary School Guidance and Counseling, June 1967, vol. 1, no. 3.

## Classroom Guidance

As has already been suggested, elementary school guidance requires an organized program in each classroom and is dependent upon effective procedures by classroom teachers. Developmental guidance thus becomes an inevitable part of the teacher's responsibility, not an optional activity. The rationale for classroom guidance has already been described in Guidance and Counseling in the Elementary School: Readings in Theory and Practice by Dinkmeyer (chapter 6). It requires the establishment of an atmosphere of certain guidance responsibilities, specific objectives, and a helping relationship.

Classroom guidance techniques cannot be detailed at this point. Some of the identification techniques would include: 1) observation 2) cumulative records 3) teacher-pupil interviews 4) autobiographies 5) work samples 6) creative writing 7) interest inventories 8) sociometrics 9) problem inventories 10) scattergrams 11) sentence or story completion.

Teaching techniques which help the individual meet his needs include:

1. Individualizing instruction so the child is able to work in terms of his own interests and at his own pace.
2. Allow the child to select materials which will reflect his own interests and capacities.
3. Joint planning by teacher and pupil.
4. Teacher-pupil evaluation of progress in recognizing guidance needs, which calls for continual reassessment.
5. Plan group meetings on a regular basis to discuss problems and make plans.
6. Use of bibliotherapy--dynamic interaction between the reader and the literature. The reading of books accompanied by follow-up activity can produce significant changes in individuals (Cianciolo, 1965).
7. Group guidance material such as that developed by Ojemann (1958) which provides a sequential program for the elementary school.
8. Encouragement--helping the child feel worthy by recognizing his assets. Encouragement provides more opportunity for success than failure (Dinkmeyer and Dreikurs, 1963).

Parent Consultation and Parent Education

An important aspect of elementary school guidance is Parent Consulting and Parent Education. The counselor's professional preparation must include the development of competencies in work with parents. Models for work with parents can be found in:

Dreikurs, R., R. Corsini, R. Lowe, and M. Sonstegard
"Adlerian Family Counseling: A Manual for Counseling Centers"
University of Oregon, University Press, 1959.

Luckey, Eleanore B. "When the Elementary School Counselor Deals with Parents" paper prepared especially for Guidance and Counseling in the Elementary School: Readings in Theory and Practice by Don Dinkmeyer, New York: Holt, Rinehart, January 1968.

Fullmer, D. and H. Bernard. Counseling: Content and Process. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1964.

Research on one type of group work with parents and children was reported by:

Stormer, Edward. "Milieu Group Counseling in Elementary School Guidance" Elementary School Guidance and Counseling, June 1967, vol. 1, no. 3.

Developmental guidance requires a close look at the relationship between Guidance, Curriculum, and Instruction (Dinkmeyer, in press). There must be considerable collaboration between all these facets of education. However, it is of real worth when it is conceived of as:

> Guidance, then, is more than a service by the counselor, a contact with the teacher, or a consultation with the parents. Elementary school guidance becomes a process through which the educational experience takes on personal meaning for the child. (Dinkmeyer, in press)

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Goldman, Leo. "Group Guidance: Content and Process" Personnel & Guidance Journal, February 1962, vol. 39, no. 6.

Kaczkowski, Henry. "The Elementary School Counselor as Consultant" Elementary School Guidance and Counseling Journal, March 1967, vol. 1, no. 2.

Maslow, A. H. Motivation and Personality. N. Y.: Harper, 1954.

Matthes, William A., Gerald D. Kranzler, and G. Roy Mayer. "The Relationship Between the Client's Perceptions of Counselor Behavior and Change in the Client's Behavior" Elementary School Guidance and Counseling Journal, (in press).

Ojemann, Ralph. "The Human Relations Program at the State University of Iowa" Personnel & Guidance Journal, November 1958, vol. 37.

Oldridge, B. "Two Roles for Elementary School Guidance Personnel" Personnel & Guidance Journal, 1964, vol. 43, no. 4.

Patouillet, R. "Organizing for Guidance in the Elementary School" Teachers College Record, May 1957, vol. 58, no. 8.

Quinn, Gerald. "Indiana's Pilot Projects in Elementary School Guidance: An Overall Observation" The Indiana Personnel and Guidance Journal, Spring 1967, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 70.

Smith, Hyrum and Louise O. Eckerson. Guidance Services in Elementary School, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

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Wrenn, C. G. The Counselor in a Changing World. Washington, D. C.: American Personnel & Guidance Assn., 1962.

Department of Public Instruction
Bureau of Guidance Services
Elementary School Guidance Work Conference
October 16-18, 1967

## Work Groups

Topic #1: Preparation of counselors
Location: Cumberland Room
Chairman: Dr. Charles T. Lundy
Recorder: Mr. John E. Slimmer

Topic #1-a: Preparation of counselors
Location: Fiesta Room
Chairman: Dr. Sylvia Paymer
Recorder: Mrs. Mary Hemington

Topic #2: Implementation of an elementary school guidance program in the local district
Location: New Jersey Room
Chairman: Dr. Tom Long
Recorder: Mrs. Cynthia Phillips

Topic #2-a: Implementation of an elementary school guidance program in the local district
Location: West Virginia Room
Chairman: Dr. Harry Klein
Recorder: Mr. William Reeder

Topic #3: The place of elementary school guidance in a comprehensive guidance program
Location: Rondora Room
Chairman: Dr. William C. Laderer
Recorder: Mr. Theodore Cramer

Topic #4: Developmental and preventive guidance techniques
Location: World Room
Chairman: Dr. Rodney N. Tolbert
Recorder: Miss Gwen Piern

Topic #5: Elementary school guidance as related to pupil personnel services
Location: Washington Room
Chairman: Mr. W. Donald Vaughan
Recorder: Mr. Joseph D. Over

Topic #6: The place of the elementary school guidance program in the educational process
Location: Washington Room
Chairman: Mr. Walter Rhoades
Recorder: Mr. Earl H. Horton

## WORK GROUP REPORTS

Work groups, each operating with a chairman, a recorder, and assigned conference participants, examined carefully and in depth the characteristics of elementary school children as related to elementary school guidance programs and recommended those steps which must be accomplished to facilitate and implement such programs to serve the needs of all children throughout the Commonwealth.

Following the presentation of each of the four major speakers, time was alloted in the program to provide for discussion by each work group of the presentation as it applied to their particular topic. The assigned topics are listed on the preceding page and at the head of each report.

After examining the issues, needs, and strategies of elementary school guidance services the groups recommended the following steps which should be accomplished in order to insure a quality school guidance program.

Topic 1. Preparation of counselors (First of two groups working with this topic)

Chairman: Dr. Charles T. Lundy

Recorder: Mr. John E. Slimmer

Final Recommendations:

I. Selection:

From the viewpoint of the selection, the following procedure was recommended:

A. Recommendations should be required from the school principal and/or supervisors. This recommendation should provide an answer to the question - Would you have this person as a counselor? If the candidate does not have teaching experience such factors as experience with children, groups, or other type learning activities will be required. Further, the person directly responsible for supervising these activities, will be required to forward a recommendation.

B. Test data should be used only in conjunction with other data in the selection process.

C. When feasible, interviews with staff members should be encouraged to ascertain counseling potential. Such procedures as stressing interview or role playing may be employed.

D. Applicants to a counselor-education program should be required to provide evidence of proficiency in writing. This may be achieved by having the applicant write an exercise response to a question submitted by the Counselor-Education Department.

E. Evidence of a background in one or more of the following disciplines should be required for entrance into the program--e.g., psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics, education, and the natural sciences.

F. The counselor-education program should have additional criteria for entrance above and beyond the requirements of the graduate school which clearly provides evidence of selection-retention procedures.

G. Counselor-education staff should be actively recruiting qualified candidates from the elementary schools.

H. That a commitment be obtained from principals that individuals they recommend will be permitted to engage in field work activities in their institution.

II. Experiences

The following are experiences where extensive training are NOT vital for the elementary school counselor:

A. Play therapy

B. Professional Education Courses

C. Individual mental and projective testing

D. Statistics

E. Curriculum

F. Reading

G. Psychoanalysis

*Note: It is recommended that the counselor's competencies in the above areas (A to G) be at a level where he can communicate and interpret to other professionals in a knowledgable manner. This DOES NOT mean to imply that he will be a specialist in any of these areas.

The following are experiences recommended as VITAL experiences and skills required in the training of the elementary school counselor:

A. Supervised counseling experience in an on-campus practicum facility where participants work with elementary school children.

B. A supervised field work experience should be provided for all individuals preparing elementary school counselors who have not had teaching experience in the elementary school.

C. Understanding and awareness of the theoretical and practical applications of guidance and counseling in an individual and group setting.

D. A background in development and growth, learning theory, sociology, personality theory, and vocational development theory which enhances the counselor's skills of identification, referral, and treatment.

### E. A background and knowledge of schools and community resources which facilitate child development.

Topic 1-a. Preparation of counselors (Second of two groups working with this topic)

Chairman: Dr. Sylvia Paymer

Recorder: Mrs. Mary Hemington

Final Recommendations:

In our discussions over the past three days we have spoken about many different areas. The emphasis has been primarily centered in moving from a purely theoretical to a practical concrete approach.

There have been four main areas which have emerged from the group discussions:

1. The role of the elementary guidance counselor.
2. The selection of candidates for training as counselors.
3. The nature of the curriculum.
4. Practicum experiences.

1. There is agreement among the participants that a need exists for someone to work at the elementary level with pupils, parents, and teachers. As spelled out in the various periodicals, this person would be responsible for interpreting test results, following up on recommendations, and being certain of implementation in the classroom situation. This might also include further discussions with the pupil, parent, and teacher.

In addition to this, this person would also be responsible for the in-service training of teachers to aid in their understanding and implementation of normal growth and development of elementary pupils. There is some question in the minds of the participants as to the appropriate title for the person who performs these functions. Of necessity, need and geographic location will ultimately dictate the requirements and the principal involved would be the one who would direct where these services are needed.

2. Candidates chosen for such training programs would have to be persons who are intelligent and understand their own strengths and weaknesses. These are usually persons who apply on their own and who work well with others. They must be flexible and dedicated to their profession.

The training should be dependent on their previous educational experiences. Recruiting might be done not only from the ranks of elementary teachers but also from those who have majored in or worked in psychology, social work, nursing, professional counseling, etc. (More men might be encouraged to enter this field if prior elementary education teaching were not a pre-requisite.)

3. At the present time the participants were not able to determine the major differences between course requirements for elementary and secondary guidance counselors. It was felt, however, there should be emphasis on courses in child development, testing (individual and group) and counseling.

The level of competence necessary for certification was not specifically determined, but it was felt it would be at the master's degree level as a minimum.

4. One of the most important areas is the practical experience and supervision within a public school situation. It is only by this method that the maximum benefits may be obtained from the interaction of parents and school personnel.

Other questions arose during the course of our discussions for which no definite answers were presently available. These included such things as:

1. Should schools avoid hiring guidance personnel who are non-certificated? In the event such persons are employed, what provision can be made for their subsequent training, e.g., a) Will funds be made available? b) Will they be able to work full time and also attend school?

2. If a school psychologist is currently fulfilling the role that may be state mandated for an elementary guidance counselor would that person continue in this capacity?

Topic 2. Implementation of an elementary school guidance program in the local district (First of two groups working with this topic)

Chairman: Dr. Tom Long

Recorder: Mrs. Cynthia Phillips

Final Recommendations:

1. The primary role of the counselor is to accommodate the teacher in establishing a developmental approach to education. The use of appraisal techniques such as tests and other kinds of records should be directed toward this goal. If testing is desired, the counselor should act as a consultant to the administration, etc., on selection and use.

2. The program should ultimately be more developmental than remedial in nature.

3. Any program should be flexible enough to satisfy the needs of the district and the individual school's population.

4. It is recommended that there be more cooperative endeavors among the many pupil personnel services. Coordination is needed for maximum mileage. Perhaps the initial role of the counselor could be coordinative in nature. A team approach is considered essential. Pupil personnel services should be umbrella-like or all-embracing in nature.

5. It is recommended that a guidance council or committee be established on two levels--the school district and the school. A wide-based group that can bring in new insights seems in order. The guidance counselor should be the interpreter of guidance philosophy and one of the major decision makers of the program.

6. It is suggested that the community and its resources be researched and utilized to obtain a more parametrical local overview and involvement.

7. It is recommended that there be a greater cooperative involvement of

counselor training institutions in the development of a program for elementary guidance.

8. In implementing a guidance program a supporting professional, back-up staff should be trained and provided. The training could be provided by in-service universities and institutions nearby, and other various, adequate, cooperative endeavors.

9. It is recommended that departmental personnel develop position statements relative to the basic recognized functions of an elementary school counselor. They should also investigate the issues to determine which guidance-related functions could be adequately handled by para-professional personnel.

10. The elementary guidance counselor must be certified and competent. Certain criteria should be established through a cooperative effort.

11. It is suggested that the elementary school guidance counselor recognize and function within the framework of the accepted professional protocol.

12. The elementary school counselor's role should be recognized and accepted as one with full professional status with recognition of reciprocal rights and responsibilities.

13. The elementary school counselor should be encouraged to avail himself of appropriate information and be an active participant in professional organizations. Here he is encouraged to recognize the opportunity to serve as a liaison officer between the larger field of education and the specific school and its guidance program.

14. Elementary school guidance is essentially different from the approach now taken in secondary school. This is not saying that secondary guidance should remain the way it is. Perhaps some of the things we are saying concerning elementary guidance could and should apply to the higher level.

15. It is highly recommended that the administration provide the counselor with proper physical and environmental facilities.

16. It is recommended that the best approach to the initiation of an elementary school guidance program is in the establishment of a model pilot demonstration program to be expanded into the entire district when possible.

17. The district should be involved in research, evaluation, and follow up of the elementary school guidance program. While this is defined as a district responsibility, participation of the elementary school counselor seems essential.

18. It is suggested that the school districts investigate organizations and agencies that are willing and able to invest in elementary school guidance programs.

19. It is recommended that insight and information be provided to the legislature for acquiring adequate funds to support the E. S. G. program.

In summary --

20. The definition of the functions of the school counselor in elementary schools must be based on a commitment to a broad developmental view of guidance, as opposed to a remedial one, that includes special services for children, teachers, and parents.

Topic 2-a. Implementation of an elementary school guidance program in the local district (Second of two groups working with this topic)

Chairman: Dr. Harry Klein

Recorder: Mr. William Reeder

Final Recommendations:

1. A committee of administrators, teachers, and pupil personnel staff, at the local level, should decide upon tentative guidelines for the work of the elementary counselor in that district. Periodically, this committee should meet to review the guidelines for revision or extension.

2. There should be ongoing provisions for resource materials concerning elementary guidance programs available to the local districts.

3. Local districts should avail themselves of materials provided by the state and other professional organizations, so that they can clearly define the roles of the administrator, elementary counselor, and teacher as they relate to each other in that district.

4. Local districts who are considering and/or planning an elementary guidance program should make provisions for the coordination of all guidance services (K-12) within their district.

5. In the implementation of an elementary guidance program the local district should provide the necessary clerical assistance for the elementary guidance staff.

6. Elementary guidance personnel employed by the local district should be state certified.

7. Local districts should give serious consideration for adopting a salary differential for all counselors.

8. Both state department and local districts should receive current regulations in order that all future elementary buildings may include adequate physical guidance facilities.

Topic 3. The place of elementary school guidance in a comprehensive guidance program

Chairman: Dr. William C. Laderer

Recorder: Theodore Cramer

Final Recommendations:

The group decided to review and comment on the sheet The Comprehensive School Guidance Program - Rationale. This is to serve as their partial contribution to the program.

Introduction -- Who is to provide guidance for the pre-K and post high school child? Isn't the role of a public school comprehensive guidance program more than K-12?

Point 1 - Acceptable

Point 2 - A. It is recommended that a district-wide person be employed to direct the overall testing program. The elementary school counselor should be included in the planning and direction of this program. However, if this district-wide person is not available, the elementary counselor should assume the leadership role for testing. It is imperative that it be correlated with the total school program.

B. It is recommended that these points be considered --

1. What is an optimum/minimum testing program appropriate for the elementary school?
2. How can an elementary testing program be coordinated with the total school testing program?

Point 3 - The point of vocational decision-making should be clarified in light of recent research on vocational choice in a changing society.

Point 4 - Acceptable

Point 5 - Part of the sentence should be eliminated or clarified "for those students unready to profit from individual counseling."

Note: If the list of elements are in any type of order No. 4 might be placed after No. 5. Group processes are quite appropriate for elementary school guidance programs.

Point 6 - Acceptable

Point 7 - Acceptable

Point 8 - A. The possibilities of the new Intermediate units and the services they will provide should be carefully considered, especially at this early stage of their development.

B. The referral procedures should be clarified to assure that the individual student is not affected by conflict-of-authority problems.

Point 9 - It is recommended that someone be assigned to coordinate the total guidance service programs, i.e., Director of Pupil Personnel Services

Point 10- Acceptable

Point 11- Not applicable

Point 12- Acceptable

Additional comments

1. The role of the elementary school counselor requires that he relate to teachers and parents more than secondary counselors have done. His personality will be a decisive factor in determining his success. It is recommended that the personality of the potential counselor as well as other traits be carefully considered with all available means before certification is granted.
2. The developmental concept of elementary school guidance requires that the instructional programs be carefully reviewed:
   A. Grouping for instruction practices
   B. "New" teaching techniques (team teaching, programmed instruction, etc.)
3. Since elementary counselors will work more directly with teachers and will be more involved in learning, they must be more aware of new trends in curriculum, instruction, etc. A. S. C. D., A. P. G. A., A. A. S. A., etc. have much to offer.
4. The elementary counselor's role in public relations should be considered. If schools are to communicate with the community in a meaningful manner, the elementary counselor could provide good information.

5. The group is quite concerned with the task of the elementary school counselor, especially for new programs where no other elementary counselor is employed. The problem of accepting the "Developmental Guidance Philosophy" relates to many of the questions of the group.

    A. Should elementary counselors work more with teachers than with students?

    B. How should an elementary counselor divide his time between remedial problems, testing, counseling, etc.? If some direction is not maintained, couldn't he become involved with the same problems as secondary counselors ("putting out fires")?

       The group feels that a "new" elementary counselor would have to "produce" to be accepted by the School Board, the staff, and the students. Working with problem children might be a means of gaining acceptance. However, the group was divided on this matter and no tangible recommendations are offered.

    C. The elementary counselor should: counsel students, advise teachers, recommend curriculum/instruction changes, use all available means of obtaining information to assist him with his task. The order of importance was not determined--time ran out!

Topic 4. Developmental and preventive guidance techniques

Chairman: Dr. Rodney N. Tolbert

Recorder: Miss Gwen Piern

Final Recommendations:

1. We recommend that some effort should be made to establish the role and function of an elementary guidance counselor in general terms. We strongly

feel that part of this role function should include the responsibility for conducting a developmental and preventive guidance program.

We also recommend that a case book be written giving specific examples and procedures of different techniques that have been used successfully by elementary counselors so that others may know how to go about trying these procedures. We suggest that possibly elementary counselors be able to have their own meetings from time to time, to share ideas and techniques.

Counselors should be competent resource persons with a strong background of child development. They should be able to pass this information on to teachers. To do this, they should have the opportunity for professional development through reading and professional meetings, etc.

We recommend that literature be made available to the counselors concerning membership to various professional organizations such as: A.P.G.A., Pa. School Counselors Association, Pa. Guidance Association, etc.

We recommend the communities provide a listing of community resource people such as: mental health personnel, public health nurse, etc., that the counselor can utilize in his program.

We strongly recommend that a sound program of orientation and articulation be a part of the elementary program. This should involve pupils, parents and staff.

We feel that intermediate and high school pupils be used as resources for enforcing the elementary program.

We recommend college preparatory institutions require that all elementary teachers take a course in fundamentals of guidance.

We also highly recommend the following:

1. Child Study and Pupil Appraisal Techniques -- Ilg-Ames Readiness test is one type of pupil appraisal. Tests should help to appraise the child and make realistic plans about his level and the amount of work.

2. Consulting - Procedures through which counselors, teachers, and parents communicate by sharing information and ideas, etc. Have joint planning with teachers to formulate ways of helping the child. Make sure teachers, pupils, and parents have a real perception of what the counselor does.

3. Rational Counseling

4. Group Counseling - Much to gain by reading Olsen.

5. Classroom Guidance - This is to be done by the teacher. Get the teacher guidance oriented and involved so that a guidance centered atmosphere is built.

6. Group Guidance

7. Administration evaluation -- Continuous!

8. Formulation of guidance councils -- This should involve teachers, nurses, etc., parents.

9. Pre-School Parent Education -- We recommend this be done before the child enters school -- not after the child has entered. This should cover various topics of child development. It would be hoped that this involvement will be a continuous process throughout the child's school life.

Strong emphasis on parent-child relationships could be done at this time.

Topic 5. Elementary school guidance as related to pupil personnel services

Chairman: W. Donald Vaughan

Recorder: Joseph D. Over

Final Recommendations:

The elementary school counselor is viewed by this committee as being that professional staff member responsible within the assigned attendance area for the coordination of all the pupil personnel services available.

Serving in this capacity, he becomes the person who brings the focus of the specialized talents of these supportive disciplines directly to bear upon the needs of the child.

Based upon this assumption, the committee recommends the following:

1. That, when the pupil personnel services program is established to serve a district, there be one counselor, serving as coordinator of the team, for every three hundred pupils.

2. That the professional preparation of the elementary counselor include experiences which will provide him with understanding of the inter-relationship of the other pupil personnel service disciplines and the contribution each makes to the total understanding of children.

3. That there be clearly defined roles established for each member of the pupil personnel services team. Each member should clearly understand his own responsibilities and function cooperatively with the other team members in the accomplishment of the defined purpose. There should be minimal overlap when roles are clearly defined.

4. That consideration be given to the potential that could lie in the use of para-professional workers to support the total pupil personnel services program.

5. That there be designated within each school district a staff member responsible for the administration of the pupil personnel services department.

6. That there should be a team of pupil personnel services established within each school district. These services should include non-instructional professional persons representing the following disciplines: Attendance, Counseling, Health, Psychological, and Social Work (Home and School Visitation).

7. That district pupil personnel service members develop a continuing in-service program designed to promote effective and dynamic team operation.

8. That, as a district is establishing or enlarging its pupil personnel services department, carefully, well-thought-through, and clearly defined lines of communication be published so that all school staff members may operate appropriately.

9. That the Department of Public Instruction take leadership in the establishment of programs to inform chief school administrators, elementary school supervisors, and principals of the emerging role of the elementary counselor in meeting the developmental and remedial needs of all children. These meetings could be statewide, regional, or district.

Topic 6. The place of the elementary school guidance program in the educational process

Chairman: Mr. Walter Rhoades

Recorder: Mr. Earl H. Horton

Final Recommendations:

1. Guidance has a place in the educational process. Its function should be determined by self-evaluation at the local level with the instrument or guide supplied by the D.P.I. The present available instruments were not felt to be adequate and it is recommended that possibly through the use of data collected from pilot projects now in operation a comprehensive evaluation technique could be developed.

2. The guidance function is an important part of the educational program. Local school districts, once they have determined the guidance function for their elementary schools should be encouraged to outline a specific plan for establishing a guidance program.

Elements of this plan should include:

A. Philosophy of the guidance function

B. Objectives to be accomplished

C. Consideration of organizational limitations

D. Selection of personnel

E. Tentative time table to include long term plans as well as short term goals

F. Provisions for evaluation of the program and the children affected.

3. Guidance is a part of the total school program. It is therefore recommended that the Guidance Bureau of the D.P.I. cooperate and coordinate with all agencies of the Department concerned with elementary education in setting forth guidelines for elementary guidance programs.

4. Much research is now being conducted that should aid in the educational process. This research data should be made readily available to all districts for their use in establishing guidance programs. One possible source of this information would be E.R.I.C.

5. We recommend that the major emphasis of the elementary guidance counselor be in working with the TOTAL staff and pupil population of the elementary buildings. It is further recommended that the elementary guidance program be based on a K to 12 concept and that the strategies and techniques used on the elementary level are, and should be, different from those employed in the secondary schools.

6. In order to provide for unity of purpose, all elementary counselors should be invited, and made a part of, all state associations for school counselors.

7. Information concerning recent trends on elementary guidance is important if local districts are to keep up to date. It is therefore recommended that copies of "Keynotes" be sent to all chief school administrators, elementary principals, elementary guidance counselors, and other personnel involved in the guidance function.